Routes to tour in GermaThe German Tribune

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The Castle Route Maintaining stability crux



Gundelsheim/Neckar: 1

2 Heldelberg

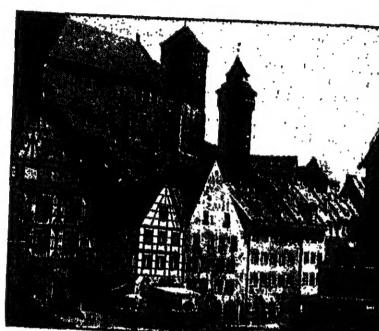
4 Rothenburg/Tauber

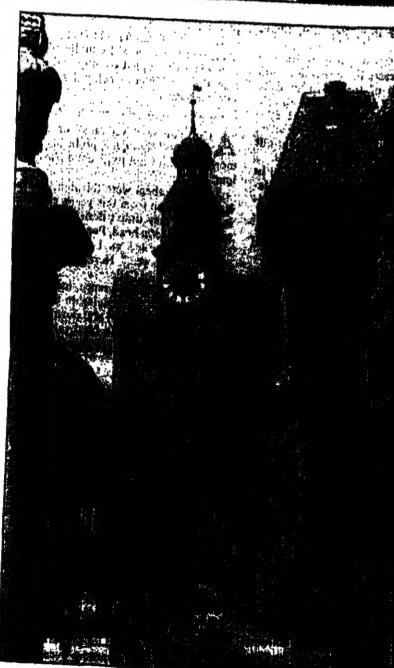
3. Nurembera

German roads will get you there. But why miss the sights by heading straight down the autobahn at 80? Hollday routes have been arranged not only to ensure unforgettable memories but also to make up an idea for a holiday In itself. How about a tour of German castles?

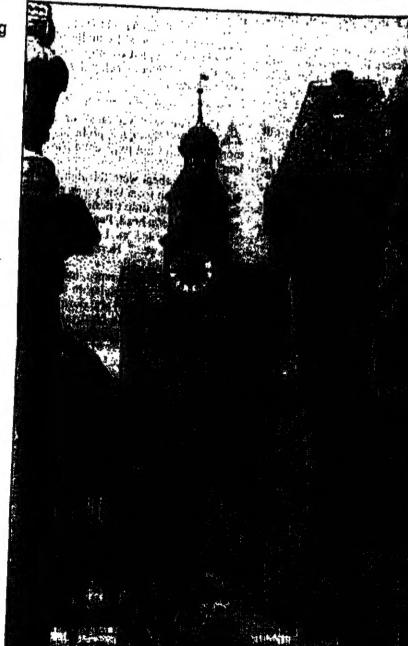
The Castle Route is 200 miles long. It runs from Mannheim, an Industrial city on the Rhine with an impressive Baroque castle of its own, to Nuremberg, the capital of Bavarian Franconia. The tour should take you three days or so. We recommend taking a look at 27 castles en route and seeing for yourself what Germany must have looked like in the Middle Ages. The mediaeval town of Rothenburg ob der Tauber is intact and unspoilt. Heidelberg is still the city of the Student Prince. In Nuremberg you really must not miss the Albrecht Dürer House,

Come and see for yourself the German Middle Ages. The Castle Route will be your









of Kohl's Moscow mission



second year - No. 1091 - By air

mberg, 17 July 1983

spite all the clashes and pitfalls in ast-West ties, Bonn's hot line to whas been in constant operation the early-1970s.

ghout this period the Federal blic of Germany has been the Rusfavourite partner for talks with

is a privilege that even deepi clashes of interest and lasting disments have failed to erode.

torical and geographic, security economic policy considerations gained a weight of their own and e groundwork for a working relap both sides have found easy to

has been a relationship of dialogue cooperation that has benefited polilisation in Europe.

an's contribution toward this relahip has consisted of being absopredictable in the foreign policy at and of abiding by the imperathat the Federal Republic must on count impose any extra burden on West ties.

put it more dramatically and to the Bonn Chancellor during his his month to Moscow: "Never must war break out from German

ugh though the Moscow talks may een, the initial impression creaty the meeting between Helmut and Yuri Andropov is that of a loued desire on both sides to exor at least not to jeopardise, what lready been achieved in normal reas and cooperation.

th the German Chancellor and the t leader chose to continue in printhe policies devised and pursued eir predecessors.

cellor Kohl's deeper aim was to dout the prospects in this connecn what were the first talks between estern leader and Mr Andropov as emiln leader.

ough a general proviso remains that apply to any judgement, no matter cotative.

is that no-one knows whether the Be-over from Mr Brezhnev to Mr opov has been completed, politispeaking, or how long the new Sosader's health will enable him to

finus in office, fesides, Mr Andropov's remark that cow's relations with Bonn will bemore difficult if US mediummissiles are stationed in Western ope cannot simply be dismissed as a consideration.

vitably the missiles dispute at entirely predominated the course

of talks. There is no ground for breathing a sigh of relief, nor one for upset, that no really new aspect came to light in this part of the talks.

Herr Kohl combined his viewpoint on missile modernisation with a call for greater Soviet readiness to compromise in Geneva.

Conversely, the Soviet leaders threatened Warsaw Pact counter-measures if the West were to go ahead and station new intermediate-range US missiles in Europe.

So far this has primarily been understood to mean the stationing of shorterrange Soviet missiles in Warsaw Pact states to the west of European Russia.

Bonn is not represented at the Geneva talks, but can its ties with Moscow develop regardless of the overall climate of East-West ties? Experience has shown that all bids to

strike a political balance between East and West depend on the general climate of international relations.

Political detente, experience has also shown, seems sure to mark time unless some progress is made in disarmament and arms control negotiations.

The impetus of military agreement is budly needed.

In Bonn's case one is bound to add that in the Brezhnev era Moscow invariably accepted the Federal Republic's unswerving membership of Nato and participation in Nato decisions as a constant feature of Bonn's foreign and security policies.

It seemed as though the Soviet Interest in establishing cordial ties with Bonn was partly due to the expectation that Bonn would wield its weight and influence within the West on behalf of

Whether Mr Andropov and the Soviet politbureau share Mr Brezhnev's assessment entirely will depend in part on the outcome of the Geneva talks.

It will also depend on whether nogotiations on medium-range missiles can be carried on into the New Year despite a start having been made, asseemspossible, on stationing the new missiles in Western Europe.

A temporary twofold Russian strat-

quasi-sanctions on Bonn in the atmos- Moscow. pheric sector up to and including inti-



Chancellor Kohi (left) in Moscow with Soviet leader Yuri Andropov, An interpreter

midating speeeches reverting to Cold War terminology on account of German support for missile modernisation.

The other side of the coin would be tacit continuation of cooperation, especially economic cooperation, which is of substantial importance to the Soviet

After a temporary decline, trade between Bonn and Moscow was up by 23 per cent in 1982.

Bonn Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff's visit to Moscow just before the Chancellor's was a pointer to keen Russian interest in boosting trade ties between the two countries.

At all events the general threat of missile modernisation overshadowing billateral ties must not necessarily affect all aspects of cooperation.

If remains to be seen whether Moscow will use its control over East Berlin to impose a stranglehold on intra-German ties in the event of political counter-measures, as it has often done

Herr Kohl really jumped over his own shadow in giving the go-ahead for the billion-deutschemark no-strings-attached loan to the GDR to avert or at least minimise this risk.

In doing so he cast to the winds his past principle that Bonn could not possibly make concessions without East Berlin making concessions in return.

Erich Honecker, the East German leader, badly needed this hard currency loan but would not, one is bound to have been able to take up the offer It would consist on the one hand of without prior approval being given by

So Herr Kohl showed willingness to

improve ties both with the GDR and in the sense of his visit to Moscow, and he was applauded by all sides.

There can naturally be no such thing as a reliably predictable scenario for relations with the Soviet Union in the wake of missile modernisaton.

But there must be no doubt that Bonn is determined to abide by the basic principles of its policy toward the Eas-

They are principles designed for long-term use and cannot be discontined for repairs devised on a short-term basis in the wake of temporary setbacks.

Consistency and viewpoints designed to outlast the decade are focal points of Ostpolitik principles.

This was the line Helmut Schmidt chose to take in advocating a 25-year economic cooperation agreement with the Soviet Union during Mr Brezhnev's 1978 visit to Bonn.

It was designed to symbolise a policy of cooperation devised to be continued well into the future.

The Kohl government was right in January to agree, by a Bonn Cabinet decision, to renew for a further 10 years a number of cooperation agreements that were due to expire this year.

For both Herr Kohl and Mr Andropov their Moscow talks were more than an important opportunity of getting to know each other better.

For the Chancellor it was an outstanding opportunity to end all doubts lest the change that is his declared intention in any way relate to ties ties with the Soviet Union or Eastern Euro-

For domestic reasons Herr Kohl and many Christian Democrats feel reluctant to talk in terms of continuity after having so staunchly opposed the treaties with East Bloc countries a decade Or so ago.

Yet in fact Herr Kohl has for years virtually ceased to attack the aubstance of his predecessor's foreign policy.

· He strongly opposed Helmut Schmidt on matters of style, accusing him of taking part in what he felt was a deceptive detente and of having put to sleep awa-Continued on page 2



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EUROPE EEC is making headway

despite denials GERMANY Nuclear-free declarations

spread to church, garden and creche THE THIRD WORLD

Lots of words exchanged at Belgrade conference

LITERATURE: 'A book must be an axe'

in this issue

ENERGY

A new Jet age to

harness the sun

-- Franz Kafka

MODERN LIVING Germans reveal what they really think about sweating over a hot lathe

EUROPE

EEC is making headway despite denials

the European Community has made headway over the past six months even though professional pessimists on European integration may deny it.

There will always be unsolved problems in an association of 10 or more countries. What counts is the progress that can be registered.

Bonn took the BEC chair in the New Year. It may not be exclusively to its credit that several hurdles have been cleared despite the many difficulties. But the balance is a respectable one.

The importance of the Solemn Declaration on European Union that was eventually approved by the Stuttgart summit is widely underrated.

The declaration, the result of a joint Bonn/Rome initiative, incorporates European Political Cooperation (BPC) in the Buropean Community's institutionai framework.

BPC has brought about a progressive coordination and harmonisation of foreign policy in recent years. It is to be extended to security policy.

There are common viewpoints on East-West problems, especially the CSCE conference in Madrid, on the dialogues between Europe and America and on the exemplary cooperation with Asean in South-East Asia.

The Common Market countries agree in many sectors of North-South affairs and on policy at the UN; on the Middle East and on the situation in hot spots in Asia, Central America and Africa.

Detailed agreement was recently reached on regular cooperation between consular and diplomatic missions in non-EEC countries.

These points all make the European Community a mainstay of international

The BEC countries' common foreign policy may still be capable of further development in many respects but it already commits member-countries to a high degree of continuity above and beyond domestic changes and changes of government.

This considerably limits the leeway for individual Common Market countries to go it alone.

Western Europe thus exerts a benevolent influence on its Big Brother on the other side of the Atlantic, where foreign policy tends to be particularly unpre-

This is because US foreign policy is beavily dependent on domestic policy is considerations and erations and on the desire of newly-elected Presidents to pursue policles of their own.

. If there can be any talk of a definite improvement in the transatlantic climate then it can but be, for the most part, a rapprochement by the United States to European positions.

This in turn can be attributed in part to the Ten's efforts to arrive at a uniform foreign policy.

There has also been progress on the BEC's domestic front. The long-disputed common fishery policy has at last been put into effect.

The supplementary budget for 1983, including offset payments to Britain for 1982 and the 1983-84 farm price review, has been approved.

The European Monetary, System distood a severe strain in carrying out the exchange-rate realignment last sprsolely by what he himself says, of course. When Interior Minister Zimmer-

ing, while the Buropean Social Fund has been successfully religged to place the emphasis on fighting youth unem-

ployment.
The European Community spoke with one voice at the Williamsburg summit, having made greater headway toward harmonisation of national economic policies.

This was due in part to the DM10bn EEC loan to France and the increase in investment loan capacity to DM7.5bn.

Moves have been undertaken to conolidate the domestic market, especially by way of long-term research promotion, which is essential if the EEC is to maintain its international competitive

Preparations have been made to extend the Community's foreign trade tool kit with a view to protecting the Common Market from unfair practices by other countries.

Initial, significant success has been achieved in EEC environmental policy, on which member-countries have agreed to combat atmospheric pollution.

In the steel dispute at least a temporary compromise was reached, while the Solemn Declaration included cultural and legal policies in the EEC's purview.

Last but not least, the deadline for the next elections to the European Parlament was agreed. Polls are to be held throughout the EEC in June 1984.

The financial dispute remains unsolved, and with it attendant problems such as the drafting of new Community policies, relieving the burden on Britain and Germany of inordinately high contributions, revising the farm budget and expanding the EEC to include Spain and

The Stuttgart summit nonetheless succeeded for the first time in stating all these problems in an orderly relationship and thereby establishing realistic prerequisites for their solutions.

During Germany's chairmanship the troika principle was first consistently implemented, that of close cooperation between the outgoing, sitting and designated chairman of the Council of Mi-

That is a further contribution toward continuity and also makes it easier for smiler member-countries to handle the technicalities of chairmanships.

Europe's progress toward integration remains arduous and stony, but it is not a blind alley.

Wolf J. Boll (General-Anzeiger Bonn, 1 July 1983)

Kohl and Genscher complinion surveys indicate that the through question time what has actually changed? Na-

Chancellor Kohl and Foreign Minister Genscher emerged virtually unscathed from their appearance before the European Parliament in Strasbourg.

They were there to brief MEPs on the six months during which Bonn had chaired the Council of Ministers and the European Council.

In particular they outlined the outcome of the Stuttgart summit.

They were praised by the conservative Christian Democrats and grudgingly acknowledged by the Liberals but condemned by the Socialists and slated by the Communists.

The resolution approved after the review was that MEPs were, in the final analysis, dissatisfied with the results at Stuttgart. But it was a resolution couched in

terms as soft as butter, one with which the Council of Ministers and the heads of government could live with. It could have been much worse.

The European Parliament has its back to the wall with a year to go before fresh elections in which the turnout could be so low as to be disastrous.

If MEPs are to prevent turnout in the 434 constituencies from proving abysmal they will need to accomplish some measure of success by which to justify their existence.

It will not be easy. Since the beginning of their first term as directly-elected Euro-MPs European integration has not only marked time; it has gone downhill The most important points are well

enough known. They are, for instance, the reform of Common Agricultural Policy, universally demanded but yet to make the slightest headway.

EEC bids to fight unemployment in Europe have been as conspicuous by their absence as has a satisfactory European policy on effective environmental Instead there are growing signs of

member-governments going it slone, and national protectionism poses a threat to the customs union.

The overwhelming majority of MEPs are keen to end this.

But their recommendations are usually blocked by the Council of Ministers. The European Commission is more cooperative, but as it is appointed by

the 10 member-government aton.
the European Parliament it tadical policy changes after a change

the European Parliament it is determinent are the exception and dependent on the Council of the rule.

Thus there are constant is gradual. If there has been any ween the Parliament and the has it concerned the accompanying culminating in legal proceduratances rather than the political materials and the last concerned the accompanying MEPs against the Council for last concerned the accompanying contract policy.

on transport policy.

But these squabbles being that appears conspicuous at first pean institutions go largely whites: the conflicts between coalities the cloctorate, who are coarse groups are as tough as before. Perticularly are not given me for and open to public view.

If MEPs are not given me for and open to public view. It is a sure to remain while there make no effort to hide anymouratic fig-leaf for the Commann and Justice Minister Friedrich Zimket countries.

Not long ago most MEPs me fode provisions for demonstrations, dent they could make enough conomic Affairs Minister Count with their existing right, a badorff and Bavaria's Prime Minister fight to reject the EEChal Franz Josef Strauss are at logger-All they needed to do was the over Deutschlandpolitik.

Out the Common Market be imbadorff and Labour Minister Strasbourg policies would be feet Blum are haggling over social arity pensions.

in Brussels.

The European Parliament as here is also the conflict between ly be sufficiently energelle, it getary and economic policy makers by voting out the entire Europe the one side and those in charge of mission (even though the cast alfairs on the other — very much Ministers was entitled to release the old government — though the But this strategy of uncorp the have meanwhile shifted. By using all existing right we ocial benefits that were the subject outmoded. It is increasingly we have of-war in the Schmidt-Gensin Strasbourg that nothing by the top of war in the Schmidt-Gensin Strasbourg that nothing by the top of war in the Schmidt-Gensin Strasbourg that nothing by the top of war in the Schmidt-Gensin Strasbourg that nothing by the top of war in the Schmidt-Gensin Strasbourg that nothing by the top of war in the Schmidt-Gensin Strasbourg that nothing by the top of war in the Schmidt-Gensin Strasbourg that nothing by the top of war in the Schmidt-Gensin Strasbourg that nothing by the top of war in the Schmidt-Gensin Strasbourg that nothing by the top of war in the Schmidt-Gensin Strasbourg that nothing by the top of war in the Schmidt-Gensin Strasbourg that nothing by the top of war in the Schmidt-Gensin Strasbourg that nothing by the top of war in the Schmidt-Gensin Strasbourg that nothing by the top of war in the Schmidt-Gensin Strasbourg that nothing by the top of war in the Schmidt Sc

legislative powers can free that new economy measures are being

legislative powers can free the new economy measures are being ment from its bonds of impossionsed.

A commission is according there is, however, one difference that a European constitution that shot be overlooked. Things that trigced as largely superseding the state where the superseding the state of the superseding the state of the superseding the state of the superseding the s fing. There is little evidence of any Any such constitution sees and in com-

remain mere paperwork for the sework.

At a time when the power that any event, the media are treating spending most of their time providing an atmosphere in which the total collapse of the County of the collapse of the coll ket a European constitution in the criticism bogs down.

if example: the European Summit, The recession is clearly to be attumpeted as a success and later prompts member-governmen statin a more realistic light, resulted in Opportunities of making relief it amounted to was the temporary way on European integration of the European Parliament of the Eur

powers were squandered when previous government miserable

Release the figure at the meeting) was (Suddentsche Zeitat, Sitter inted like something akin to a miman. To have prevented a major re was seen as a triumph.

ment failed in Stuttgert; it does, homean that European policy has ed as difficult as ever.

ough the new chancellor shows a pro-European stance there has no change in procedure.

lere was more public mosning what Helmut Schmidt did in Eu-Otherwise conditions and differerests remain the same. a fact that Chancellor Kohl goes

more out of his way then his preor to cultivate relations with ca's President Mitterrand (they lad more than ten personal meetits to do with the desire to show

HOME AFFAIRS

Surveys show government support on the rise

all consideration for Germany's most important neighbour and importer of German goods. This is a continuity that no German government can afford to

A conspicuous change in foreign policy is the fact that the public and semi-public discussion over Bonn-Wash-Ington differences has almost ceased. There are no more mutual accusations, and German-American relations have become more haarmonious and personto-person relations between politicians more relaxed.

The SPD says that the price paid for this is that German interests are no longer promoted as emphatically as before. Government circles deny this They say that the lack of public controversy has enabled Bonn to exert more in-

In any event, the new government has kept East-West trade flowing. But the actual test will be the outcome of the Geneva missiles talks.

Naturally, the new government like the old one - wants to see the Geneva talks succed, as a matter of principle and because an accord in Geneva would make Kohl unassailable for years to come.

But the success of the talks does not depend only on Bonn. This is a fact that was driven home to Helmut Schmidt as

While the new government has harmonised relations with the West the verbal stance towards the East has become more - and perhaps too - outspoken; and the once more fashionable somewhat careless.

The question now is: when will the liberation and unification rhetoric clash with the trade policy towards the East and the drive to achieve human casements which Kohl obviously wants to continue? "

What matters even more than the vocabulary used by Bonn is the state of relations between the superpowers - relations that have for some time been un-

Here, too, Kohl's problems do not differ much from those that confronted The change is somewhat more pro-

tounced in the domestic affairs sector, though less in terms of legislation than in terms of the rhetoric in which political actions are couched. The crux in the dispute over the new

demonstration laws is not so much the amendment of the existing laws but the politically dangerous wish to cope with anticipated political unrest in the autumn through tougher police action. There is something symbolic about the ming and the objective.

There are also differences between this and the previous government that express themselves in minor details such as the instruction that postmen should be properly uniformed in future and the change in film promotion in fayour of unobjectionable films with public appeal.

All this shows the intention to reshape the nation. The silent majority is starting to bare its teeth.

There have also been many changes in taxation, fiscal and social policy and the finance minister and a number of other cabinet members have benefited little from the holiday. The redistribution in favour of business has made progress. The outward manifestations of this are the rehabilitation of the budget and a supplyside economic policy.

But here, too, it becomes obvious that the reorientation can only go so far. The new policy is not sweeping but it has considerably intensified the trend to curb spending that was already evident

under the Schmidt government. The SPD could not have gone that far.

There is nothing to indicate that the present government has completed its austerity measures. Nor is there any indication of an economic upturn and declining unemployment rates.

The balance sheet is sobering and less spectacular than announced in earlier speeches. It is not an outstanding balance sheet.

Even so, the new policy has not made the public turn its back on the government. If opinion surveys are anything to go by, the coalition now has a stronger backing than it had in the March election. It seems that economic problems and joblessness hurt right-wing governments less than lett-wing ones.

Somewhat embittered, the SPD observes that the trade-union protest against social outbacks was stronger under a social democratic than under a conservative chancellor.

Essentially, the Social Democrats are at a loss now as to what sort of political concept - especially on economic affairs - could corner a majority for their party.

Kohl's "unity" thetoric still softens tough decisions. But gradually the country is becoming polarised and emotions are emerging.

What will happen if the hot missiles autumn is followed by a cold winter of joblessness?

The "change" that initially appeared to be the continuation of the old policy in a new coalition will eventually turn into a different policy.

There is lightning in the sky. Alfred Dregger's remark about a social democratic "stab in the back" directed against the Western Alliance, Heiner Geissler's nasty remark that it was pacifism that made Auschwitz possible and Bonn's reaction to the violence of a few hundred political rabble rousers during US Vice President Bush's visit bear witness

It is quite possible that the mood in this country will be very different by the end of the year: The nation will be divided into two camps without bridges to link them.

Rolf Zundel (Die Zeit, I July 1983)

The Bonn government has underwrit-L ten DMIbn in bank credits to East Germany. This mean that the GDR now gets access to foreign exchange that it was highly unlikely to get elsewhere. It was a totally unexpected move by

no apparent insistance on getting something in return. In taking this step it has ignored a repeatedly stated principle: Deutschlandpolitik must be governed by a clear something-received-for something-

the Kohl government. Why? There was

given attitude. There are several possible reasons: did Bonn give in to a threat, perhaps that German-German ties would drasti-

were deployed? B. Salar This is most, unlikely because it would have meant the QDR was prepared to violate treaties, including those governing Berlin and, hence, involving the Soviet Union.

Insolvency would thus have been aggravated by an open breach of treaty, which is not likely because East Berlin has always tried to maintain a reputation, of not breaking treaties.

Has East Berlin perhaps somehow lured the Bohn government? The GDR does not appear to have offered anything discernable in returns There is some talk of secreey pledges. Rumour Bonn backs big credit deal for East Berlin

has it that Bonn wanted to spare East Berlin the embarrassment of having to grant Germans some of the human rights it has so for stubbornly denied them. Time will tell,
What else could have prom

Bonn's new government to depart from its quid pro quo principle and replace it by the principle of mutual trust? Chancellor Kohl and State Minister

at the Chancellor Office Philipp Jenninger, who is in charge of contacts with East Germany, are not given to wishful thinking. Moreover, they don't make the decisions alone.

CSU leader Franz Josef Strauss played a major role in bringing about the deal, and there are indications that he at times even intervened in the talks."

Only a few weeks ago it was Strauss who accused the GDR of murder after a West German visitor died following interrogation at an East German border checkpoints in water our fill to be

There are indeed sound reasons sto grant the loan. One of the assumptions in Bonn is that the government and

Strauss hoped that the credit will enable them to have some influence in the

This concerns not only East Berlin's domestic policy but also that of the Federal Republic of Germany. By taking an active part in backing the credit. Strauss also changed the political course of the coalition.

All of a sudden, the CSU no longer occupies its traditional right wing but has shifted its position to the "left" despite the fact that such terminology is not applicable in Deutschlandpolitik.

The FDP cabinet members had no choice but to agrees.

. A Strauss who no longer occupies the right wing but promotes a new *Realpo* litik between the two German states instead of sticking to a policy of principles and legal titles could soon become an annoyance to the Liberals and their foreign minister.

Next month, when Strauss is due not only to visit Poland but also to spend three days in Dresden, East Germany, could provide some clues.

"It would certainty be a minor sensation it Strauss were to meet East Germany's Erich Honecker and if such a meeting had positive results.

Karl Feldmeyer (Frankfutter Aligemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, I July 1983)



Continued from page 1 redness of security policy threats from the Bast

The impression he created, especially in the Bast, was that of being profoundly opposed to Chancellor Schmidt's

But such suspicions do not stand up to detailed appraisal. Since taking over as Chancellor Herr Kohi has constantly reaffirmed the consistency of German foreign and security policy, particularly with regard to the East.

He has done so in his government policy statements, in the agreement he has reached with Foreign Minister Genscher and by virtue of his international activities.

In this context Chancellor Kohl has yet to put a foot wrong, as far as one The Chancellor will not be judged

mann tells expellees that the Bonn government continues to include German Eastern territories beyond the Oder-Neisse line in the German Question, the Chancellor must call him to order. Legal niceties must on no account be

ed by the Bonn government, The predictable nature of Bonn's foreign policy was a characteristic that paid dividends for the Chancellor in Moscow.

greater confidence is the imbalance of power in Europe. The Soviet SS-20 missile and the problems it entails symbolise the limitations of Ostpolitik to date.

other than arms. Unless the signs are entirely misleading the hot line between Bonn and Moscow is still operational. Kurt Becker (Qia Zeti, \$ July (92))

confused with the policy actually pursu-

The main obstacles to cooperation in

But the Chancellor was keen to maintain as much cooperation as possible between Bonn and Moscow in sectors

All articles which THE GERMAN TRIBUSE bublished in cooperation with the admi-isating neuropears of the Pedeck Republing. They are complete transitions of the ar-ticle way abridged nor adjorishy radrated.

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GERMANY

Mixed feelings as nuclear-free declarations spread to church, garden and creche

Some 50 municipalities in Germany have declared themselves nuclearfree zones. Nuclear-free schools have been declared. So have training facilities for apprentices, gardens, streets and churches.

It is all part of the peace issue which has become a major bone of contention in many local councils around the

Encroachment of the peace issue into town halls is regarded by some as communist infiltration and a weakening of the nation's defences.

Others see it as peace signals from the public at large, a symbolic action against the lunacy of the arms race.

One sceptic is former Chancellor Helmut Schmidt. After the Hamburg borough of Eimsbüttel had declared itself nuclear-free, Schmidt suggested to councillors that they should send a city map to the Soviet Defence Ministry so the Russians would know where the border of neighbouring Harvestehude

Eimsbüttel's decision was forced through by Social Democrat and Green councillors. That is the normal pattern. Often, German Communist Party (DKP) councillors are involved.

Councils outside the big cities are mainly involved. The Issue stands no chance in cities like Stuttgart or Frankfurt where the CDU holds a sound majority. A similar SPD motion in Bonn was turned down.

There is a widespread controversy, however, over whether such motions may be voted on at all in town councils. The Bonn Interior Ministry answers the question with a clear no and even goes so far as to say that this is the sort of thing that puts the nation's defences in jéopardy.

According to Parliamentary State Secretary Horst Waffenschmidt, resolutions to declare a city a nuclear-free zone amount to a "usurpation of authority in matters of defence policy, motivated by party politics and ideology." Such authority, he says, rests solely with the Bundestag and the Bonn Cabinet.

Waffenschmidt gets backing from Article 73 of the Constitution which gives the Federal government and the Bundestag the sole right to make decisions on defence matters,

all the sell of the services

The Bonn Interior Ministry und Friedrich Zimmermann puts the lion's share of the blame on the DKP which

the Easter Marchers and the Ban the

The SPD leadership naturally sees it all in a different light.

Peter Glotz, the SPD's general secretary, interprets the movement as "signals from the citizens against a conti-



nuation of the lunacy of the arms race." As Glotz sees it, the municipalities have every right to take public fears

into account and act accordingly. At SPD headquarters, these initiatives are not seen as a substitute for concrete political measures to bring about disarmament but as helpful supporting

Some SPD town councillors point to their party's Godesberg manifesto of 1959 which spoke of an inclusion "of the whole of Germany in a European zone of détente and controlled arms limitation. Such a peace zone would be cleared of foreign troops and nuclear weapons once Germany has been reunited in freedom."

The controversy concerns not only the political quality of such resolutions but also their legality.

This has once more focussed interest on the Constitutional Court ruling of 30 July 1958 in which the justices restricted

ore than 3,000 scientists have appealed to the government not to

allow missiles to be stationed in Germa-

They made their appeal at the end of

a meeting in Mainz. However, there was

no clear answer to the question of whe-

ther many were putting forward their

Of course, scientists are also citizens,

And when old authorities such as

these fail, new ones emerge: the peace

movement, the clergy, trade unions and

But while conviction and sentiment

are enough to lend legitimacy to the ap-

prehension of the others, scientists are

ces as scientists. Findings must not only

be felt, they must be proved.

subject to the rules of their disciplines

- especially when they raise their voi-

views as scientists or as citizens.

ny if the arms talks fail.

the authority of municipalities to local community affairs.

According to the ruling, a municipalily would exceed its legal authority by adopting resolutions on supra-regional and highly political issues."

But the ruling also says that a municipality can take action against any "concrete intention" to establish on its soll a military installation like "a launching device for nuclear war-

It is thus difficult to arrive at a clearcut decision in the controversy. But u municipality would clearly be in breach of the Constitution if it declared itself an absolutely nuclear-free zone and tried to implement this with all avail-

In North Rhine-Westphalia, the legal position, which is complicated to start with, was complicated still further by a decree issued by State Interior Minister Herbert Schnoor (SPD).

Last December, Schnoor decreed that municipalities commenting on defence matters exceed their authority.

But, according to his ambiguous directive, there is no need for supervisory

Scientists ask government not

to allow the missiles

authorities to intervene in to personal decision in the contract of the contra ture have no effect in law.

Schnoor overlooks the land Simulator training in all three services the right to rest the right to rea

If the council decides las decision, the administrator) final decision by the superior he conscripts can have little iden

training facilities are available in North Rhine-Westphallar by's modern armed forces. nistor, Johannes Rau (SPD) decronic simulators are increasingly decisions to declare a murajin the Bundeswehr, and manning a nuclear-free zone illegal backgimulator or a mock-up of an air-as understandable that towned tockpit is a far cry from parademight want to discuss the last and drill.

The discussion over masses money, prevents accidents zones has been in progress does much less damage to the envi-mid-1950s. It is closely linked then the real thing. names as Adam Rapacki, the soldier's face is bathed in sweat Kennan, Herbert Weber mans the controls of a Leopard 2 Khrushchev, Urho Kektoner Eas it plunges through the forest. late, Olof Palme. All of these is a quagmire. Were it not for thick nuclear-free zones several interior in the soil the tank would metres wide.

Today's municipal initiative addenly the soldier loses control of times content themselves with 40-ton tank. It rams a tree, leaves than ten metres. The idea is a track and grinds to a halt in the not that would one day cour

He is not so easy for a learner-driver They attach little important is learning how to drive a tank with tical and legal aspects as leg. Coy in Augustdorf. The soldier issue is a focul point of discussed out of his seat, gingerly feels a

Ektern bruises and breathes a sigh of relief.

(General-Anzeiger Benefit real life he could well have written he tank, not to mention himself. In

ulator he is unlikely to suffer more the meeting), said "As school a few cuts and bruises. used to dealing with extreme imulators were first used by the systems. That sharpens ontreftwaffe and the Bundesmarine but

of critical points," ye long been part of the Bundes-The most important of trashr's training facilities too.

points for the scientists may believe is outlined by Lt-Gen. Ger-accuracy and the speed of the Wachter. 54, commanding officer siles. The latter allows only is the 110 000 men of I Corps stationed

warning period. Hamburg, Bremen, Lower Saxony,
The Mainz appeal stresses levig-Holstein and North Rhineif there is little likelihood of a tohalia.
ful first strike, this development hallowers," he says, "are there to ful first strike, this development inhulators," he says, are the ful first strike, this development in the men to stay psysically, mental-undestabilisation of the balance of the men to stay psysically, mental-undestabilisation of the balance of the men to stay psysically, mental-undestabilisation of the balance of the men to stay psysically, mental-undestabilisation of the balance of the men to stay psysically, mental-undestabilisation of the balance of the men to stay psysically, mental-undestabilisation of the balance of the men to stay psysically, mental-undestabilisation of the balance of the men to stay psysically, mental-undestabilisation of the balance of the men to stay psysically, mental-undestabilisation of the balance of the men to stay psysically, mental-undestabilisation of the balance of the men to stay psysically, mental-undestabilisation of the balance of the men to stay psysically, mental-undestabilisation of the balance of the men to stay psysically, mental-undestabilisation of the balance of the mental-undestabilisation of the balance of the mental-undestabilisation of the balance of the mental-undestabilisation o gency we hope will never happen."

Another thing to come of computers and simulators also con-meeting was the suggestion of the toward cutting arms costs and change of the armament to a tile toward cutting arms costs and non-aggressiveness." What tilen and contamination by the amounts to is putting the con-arms technologies that promote this simulators are driven indoors, without eroding military seems, stanlingly natural landscapes on But this amplicated agents.

without croding military teems a stantingly natural landscapes on But this analysis does not special scient screens.

total rejection of deploying a fellopter pilots in a simulator cockiles in Europe as demanded to fegotiate turbulence and fire laser peal. At best, the analysis special at a cinema screen inside an 108 Pershing II missiles earned the fire for just over half the grant to reach a target in the substitute for just over half the Union.

well serve as an example for a facical training on board a real tank citizens dealing with this isse.

Christoph & After theory, and maintenance in-

means war practice without casualties

struction they are then sent back to their regular units.

A conventional course of training on board a Leopard tank costs about DM20,400 per head. A course including simulator training cuts costs to only DM7,600.

The Bundeswehr has run four such simulator centres since 1977, saving roughly DM72m a year in training costs and DM2.1m in fuel.

These figures are for the Leopard Mk 1. The Defence Ministry is confident that simulator training for the Mk 2 will cut costs correspondingly.

Conventional training to drive the Leopard 2 costs DM54,000 per man, but simulators have yet to be taken into

Bundeswehr helicopter pilots-to-be in Bückeburg are put through their paces indoors in simulated cockpits of Bell UH-1-D choppers. The simulators are housed in a han-

gar, so "flights" are not affected by the weather. There are no accidents either,

The cockpits are shaken hydraulically to simulate turbulence. Artificial lightning illuminates the darkened cockpit. Hail seems to be drumming on the helicopter roof.

The trainee pilot curses under his breath on noticing from his instruments trouble enough as it is keeping the 'copter on course in heavy side winds.

Simulator training costs DM179 per hour. Airborne training logging bona fide flight hours on board a helicopter costs DM1,243 per hour.

Over the past eight years about 9,000 flight hours have been simulated in Bückeburg, so the saving is DM60m

So the simulator, including its computer, has paid for itself six times over.

A similar facility is in operation at an army airfield near Celle where Bo 105 P anti-tank helicopter pilots learn how to use their DM30,000 Hot guided miss-

Radio and telecom mechanics and electronics specialists have put together target and firing evaluation systems for a mere DM300 each using conventional

A dirty pane of glass is kept rotating by a barbecue grill motor, simulating flight movement even though the 'copter is stationary in its hangar.

Another helicopter anti-tank training system using moving targets projected on to a screen landscape is more expensive. It cost DM200,000.

Firing is laser-simulated, which makes it independent of the weather. noiseless, accurate and harmless in that no-one can be injured by mistake.

Since 1981 these devices have cut training costs by roughly DM3,6m, including 3,000 flight hours at DM1,200

Ammunition costs nothing at all. It is all done by electronics.

Anti-aircraft specialists are not to be outdone when it comes to cutting costs in this way. Ammunition is expensive that he has engine trouble. He is having and missiles can hardly be fired for practice.

> So a few computers and monitor screens that simulate what the pundits call a defence situation provide an opportunity of checking how anti-aircraft and ground-to-air missile batteries would fare in practice.

> 11 Anti-Aircraft Regt in Achim, near Bremen, is equipped with Gepard (Cheetah) flak tanks that cost a small

But gunners learn by simulator how to handle their radar-controlled weapon system and fire guns and missiles at electronic targets.

This sayes fuel. It also saves the cost of sending up aircraft as targets, which is DM4,000 per hour.

Simulators and electronic training aids are by no means inexpensive. They are complicated too. But General Wachter sees them as a means of keeping his men well-trained despite skyrocketing costs.

They also keep wear and tear of arms and equipment down to a minimum. "Cash is in short supply," he says, "and there is unlikely to be so much more of it around in future." Klaus Wittkamp

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 28 June 1983)

For fighter pilots, The Thing brings the dogfight to life

reen and red aircraft zig-zag across Tthe monitor screen. Atmospherics are heard over the loudspeaker. A voice croaks: "Porsche One. There's a bandit to your rear. 15 miles."

The warning comes too late. The red aircraft is the bandit and has already almed and fired a yellow arrow on the

Lightning indicates a hit. The word 'kill" appears and a coffin lid lights up. "Dead" it proclaims, adding the name

The man in front of the monitor screen presses a button. We now share the view from the cockpit of the red aircraft. an P 5 interceptor.

On the horizon the outline of a green

the point at which you would have to put another coin the slot for a further five minutes of aggression. But the aerial doglight seen on this

monitor screen is actually in progress, The aircraft are airborne; only the missiles and the firing are computer-simu-

ed out on the screen the dead come back to life and return to the fray. The action is taking place over the Mediterranean west of Sardinia.

could do with four hands," says Eberhard Eimler, commander-in-chief of the Lustwasse.

But he doesn't mean in the air. He means in the evening at the mess when pilots tell each other with expressive gestures of the arm and hand how they outmanoeuvred and shot down the

At the mess the winners are usually the ones with a good line of patter to go with the gestures, and General Eimler admits to having spun a yarn or two himself in his time.

"But we have all climbed down a peg or two now we have the Thing," he says. The Thing cost \$25m to install at Decimomannu, a Sardinian air base.

Air Combat Manoeuvring Instrumenation, of Acmi, is its proper name, and it consists of ground computers and monitor screens, relay stations mounted on buoys in the exercise area and a container slung under aircraft wings in place of a missile.

All important data, such as speed, direction and position of the aircraft, rate of ascent or descent and acceleration are radiced to the central computer, which marks them up graphically on one screen and in figures on another.

The data of aircraft and missiles are programmed. The course of battle and all data are recorded on magnetic tape.

The voice over the loudspeaker is that of a control tower officer warning

pilots of danger seen on a conventional

His job is also to ensure that no-one inadvertently leaves the exercise area, which is out of bounds to civil aviation.

The man who presses the buttons at the monitor is an experienced flying instructor who debriefs pilots, gives tactical advice and points out mistakes.

Pilots can no longer tell tall stories. The tapes are there to show at speed or in slow motion just where they went

Every enemy plane knocked out can be proved to have been a bona fide hit, just as it can be seen after the event when a kill could have been made.

The cost of the US-made installation has been shared by the United States, the Federal Republic of Germany, Britain and Italy.

Sardinia has the best mangeuvre facilities in Europe. Where in Germany could supersonic fighters swoop and fight it out at 2,000 metres? It is not just that thousands of win-

dow panes would be shattered by supersonic bangs, Civil aviation would be impossible too. There is more space over the Medi-

terranean, and the weather is good nearly all the year round as well. So the Luftwaffe has transferred most

of its fighter training to Decimomannu. The aggressor squadron of American F 5 fighters is a special feature of the training.

The F 5s are similar in performance to MiG 21s and their pilots are trained in East Bloc tactics. Their aircraft even have Warsaw Pact camouflage.

American love of detail does not stop at this point. A red star adorns the hel-

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 5July 1983)



Communists blamed

Spokesmen at CDU party headquarters stress that the SPD's drive to achieve at least propaganda successes should stop short of violating the Cons-

It is here that the difficulty lies. Scientific proof is almost imp Nuclear deterrence, its effects or its failure, is not a technical or scientific in its view masterminds the moves, but a psychological and political prob-Though it is certain that the DKP has lem: a deterrent functions if the other

finger in the pie, the movement actually spilled over from Britain and was adopted in this country in the 1950s by

The criteria are subjective and in flux; and even scientists are in no position to present scientific proof,

side takes it seriously,

Fortunately, there is nothing with which to prove anything; nobody knows what a nuclear world war would be like; and when we know it will be too late for mankind. The cause-and-effect type of svidence

(also a favourite of the peace move-

This is also true of the repeatedly raised argument in Mainz that the decision on a nuclear holocaust will not be

and the nuclear issue is not an experts' monopoly. But the public attaches weight to what scientists say. This weight is even greater because politito ensure that the decision will rest with cians and strategy experts have lost cre-

Scientific arguments are useless in trying to prove the opposite, and any-

that which can be proved and the unprovable with political conviction. Thus the "concerned citizen" made his appearance in the cloak of the "objective

mportant.

can Polaris missile.

tional way of mastering the nuclear age is to continue. This cannot be achieved without personal commitment nor can it be achieved without respect for facts.

Those unfamiliar with the destructive powers of a nuclear explosion were told about it by experts who explained the effects of a Soviet SS-20 or an Ameri-

What mattered even more was the attempt to arrive at an overall picture. Professor Durr of the Munich-based Max Planck Institute for Physics and Astrophysics (one of the initiators of

DIE

ment) can therefore not apply here.

made by a person but by a computer. The political leaders in Washington and Moscow have done all they could

body wanting to prove this would have to fall back on the public's conviction. As a result, many of the speakers in Mainz tried to bridge the gap between

But there probably has to be a combination of the two if the search for a ra-

Much of what was said in Mainz was peripheral to the issue and much was

It does not apply to the the missiles that would need small to cover this distance and short by. In Augustdorf alone over 1,400 fore meet the criteria of the sayear who hold no more than a clarmament mentioned earlief.

It was the worked-up that that the cool scientist who spot that the cool scientist cool scientist who spot that the cool scientist who spot that the cool scientist cool scientist cool scientist who spot that the cool scientist cool scientis

Hans-Peter Dur: "I west then spend 16 hours watching with a certain apprehension at fellow-learners manage at the mowell serve as an example for the mo-

(Did Zálli)

of the green aircraft's pilot.

Phantom jet can be made out. It too is the target of a yellow missile. But the message on the screen is "no kill." The target was out of range. In a video war games parlour this is

Forty-five seconds after being knock-

"There are times when fighter pilots

Lots of words exchanged at Belgrade conference

he United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (Unctad) in Belgrade was a depressing speciacle. The 4,000 delegates from 160 countries started off by wasting four weeks on a huge palaver about the world economy and development in the Third World.

For much of the time, the conference dealt only with itself. It produced tons of documents. The developing countries forming the Group of 77, the Western industrial nations and the East Bloc, (the last group has entered into no commitments whatsoever) talked at cross-

The conference eventually shifted into high gear just before it was supposed to end. Chaos ensued. And since the conference had to be extended it became more expensive than originally

In the end, a couple of dozen resolutions had to serve as an alibi. But they cannot gloss over the fact that the conference was a failure.

Like the previous meeting in Manila, the Belgrade conference was doomed to failure because such a large and longwinded event cannot deal with the vital problems of the world-wide economic slump, the disrupted development in the Third World and the excessive indebtedness of developing countries.

There was even a shortage of useful suggestions that could have enlivened the debate on revitalising the world economy. Resolutions are of no use to the people in the Third World. They relieve none of the hardship.

The marathon session in Belgrade has once more shown that such conferences cannot achieve much.

There should have been less friction at Belgrade than at previous Unctad conferences. This time, the Group of 77 did not enter the conference blaming, the rich industrial nations for Third

"Revitalisation and development" was the original motto under which industrial and developing countries were to discuss joint measures to prevent the decline of individual countries and the world economy as a whole.

But then the Group of 77 once more came forward with a whole bundle of previously drafted resolutions that boiled down to the old demand for more payments by the industrial nations and for a New International Economic Order that would provide for a more equitable international division of labour and monetary system - all this to be achieved by central control mechanisms, They all the array of

To overcome the crisis, the Third World netions demanded an immediate programme involving a minimum of

\$90bp. so that he had some what There can be no doubt that the hardpressed countries of the Third World need assistance from the lindustrial world -- now more than ever before. Despite their own financial problems, the industrial nations must therefore

not discontinue their development ald. Bonn's 1984 budget takes this into acconnt. (Comment of the party of

It has increased the development aid budget by more than average for the en-

The industrial nations must also continue to lend a helping hand to the poorest of developing nations in emergency cases or when they find themsolves unable to service their debts.

The West will continue to try to increase its financial aid to the Third World, as promised in Belgrade. But it must reject the huge and costly

programmes demanded by the Group of 77, which it did in Belgrade. The purse strings will remain tight

and not only because the coffers are empty. Aid donors cannot help doubting whether the rescue projects proposed by the developing countries would really do any good.

It would have been unreasonable in Belgrade to expect of countries whose economic systems are based on free enterprise to agree to the economic recipes of countries with systems that are diametrically opposed to free enterpri-

The wrong approach in the concept of the Group of 77 boils down to the fact that these Third World nations want to solve global economic problems with global measures and that they insist on alleviating Third World problems with global measures and that they insist on alleviating Third World problems primarily with more money.

The measures demanded by them are not only costly but must also accelerate

The Group of 77 delegates make the same mistake as Willy Brandt's North-South Commission.

What Unctad is

The United Nations Conference I on Trade and Development (Unctad) is a permanent body of the UN General Assembly with seat in Geneva. It is financed from the UN oudget and its members comprise all nember-nations of the UN and its

Unctad is administered by a Secretariat.

Its, the function is to promote world trade and economic develop-ment in the Third World.

Its main aims are to overcome the North-South gap through more deelopment aid, to achieve stable commodity prices and to obtain pre-ferential trade and tariff status from the industrial world.

Unctad has tedlously been trying to get closer to achieving these aims from one conference to the next. The conferences are held about every four years.

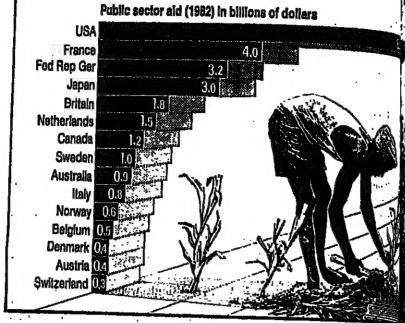
One reason for the failure so far is probably the division of Unctad into olocs of states.

Apart from the countries with free enterprise systems, there are the planned economy states and the Group of 77, which includes 125 developing countries

The main issues in Belgrade were the stabilisation of commodity prices and export earnings in the developing countries and growing protectio-(Mannheimer Moigen, 2 July 1983)

(Frankferier Allgemeins Zellung Mr. Deutschland, S.July 1983)

Cash for the Third World



As the Economic Affairs Ministry Advisory Council puts it: "They are ubsolutely convinced that international organisations can come up with and administer global solutions."

But there are no such patent recipes. Difficulties in the developing countries cannot be solved globally. They must be solved country by country and step by step. Moreover, more development aid does not guarantee development

According to the Advisory Council. the effect of additional capital on development depends on framework conditions in the developing country concerned and, above all, on its economic

Rarely are the Third World delegations to Unctad reminded of the fact that the basic preconditions for economic and social development must be created by the developing countries themselves. Obstacles to development must be removed for aid to become ci-

The industrial nations attending the Belgrade conference should have been more united and more unequivocal in making it clear that they are prepared to promote development processes from

Of the Western nations, only the European Community was properly prepared for the Belgrade meeting.

For example the European suggestion to extend the system of stabilising commodity earnings that now applies to the signatories of the Lome Convention to a number of other developing countries falled to meet with US and Canadian support in Belgrade.

Instead of promoting this commodity earnings stabilisation, the West reaffirmed the wrong decisions of former Unctad meetings whereby price stabilisation would be acchieved through a common fund within the framework of raw materials agreements,

tad VI was to have failed to urge more liberalisation in the trade between industrial and developing countries

Though the industrial countries undertook to stop protectionism and to systematically remove trade barriers, this is no more than a declaration of intent, and the transfer

Deeds must follow within the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (Gait). The best and cheapest development aid would be to buy more Third World goods. Klaus Broichhausen

THE ECONOMY

Murmurings in the ranks over steps to get things going again

miness circles are becoming impa-Hent. They want the government, h has now been in office for more 00 days, to speed up measures to

h is still trying to reduce spendod provide tax rollef for business, stry wants campaign promises

derity measures and growth proa would only be successful if they ally amounted to sweeping re-(avouring private incomes, warnsiness representative, Otto Wolff merongen, head of DIHT, the n standing council of chambers Bonn steps mimerce and industry.

developmenting away from the fact that the aid allocati dess about the vaunted change; thought that the economy was

DIE WELL blame for these expectations. Opim was very handy as an election

pite this, those who listened Donn has increased the and id have heard the warnings against give for development and takes expectations.

The 1984 allocation there is much to indicate that the druft budget figures will be pig point is still ahead of us. We don't the hand of the contract of the contr

The budget itself is up by lifect any positive effects of our pro-over 1983, so development in the before the second half of out statistically well. The kind that policy statement last October, fied. imblems on the previous govern-The medium-term fiscal plant

The medium-term fiscal plant increases of other modes. The medium-term fiscal plant increases of other modes increased that the economy might, after all, that the economy might, after all, rise by between 3.3 and 3.7 pm that the economy might, after all, rise by between 3.3 and 3.7 pm the sooner. The government pinned little even this fairly general thopes on "creating more jobs cannot solve the Development of new economic growth and on nister's problems. This is main that it is solving the state's fiscal at the Ministry's budget was put it.

1970s. Now carlier commisses the said, must cut spending to be met with increases of other feduce the deficit to provide busi-

to be met with increases of one steduce the deficit to provide busifour per cent.

This has to do with a peak wit rates must go down.

development budget has in the strength of the money strength of the strength of the money strength of the strength of the money strength of the strength o occasion, taking a swipe at the Depending on progress of

project, actual payments of believe that faith in the economy over between five and ten years in improved because you are no ion-

Conversely, this means he proved because you are no ion-Bonn government (as was the talk psychological approach was the 1970s) wanted to boost in the psychological approach was ment aid by an average ten per for action in the beginning and year, it would have to ensure the for action in the beginning and that there are sufficient feasible sould be done did not differ very that there are sufficient feat that mere are sufficient lessor from what the previous governuse of the taxpayer's money.

countries now stand at about 0

te its predecessor, the new govern-For that reason, the previous ment's commitments to This found that in an economic crisis ament spending for unemploy-social welfare and subsidies for

still to be honoured.

As long as the cash outlest like tax revenues plummet.

Pace (with a time lag) with next like dilemma also plagued Bonn's ments there will be no difficult budget which, despite government budget was boosted by outlest like a hefty injection from Bunper cent and that he can there had to renege on earlier promises.

As a result, projects have be some in the autumn. VAT is a result, projects have be some in the autumn. VAT is

afrom 6.5 per cent to 7 per cent and

from 13 to 14 per cent) to enable the government to pay for the promised tax relief for business. Withholdings on Christmas bonuses and holiday allowances for employees will be increased from next year.

The government's Intention to reduce tax for business along with reducing government debt is at the moment no more than a blueprint. But Bonn Finance Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg has guaranteed this and the public trusts him to deliver.

The government plan did not provide for setbacks and there were none originally. The general mood of business was good, planning permissions for new construction were increasing and interest rates were dropping.

Even GNP rose slightly in the first quarter of this year, at least compared with the last quarter of 1982. And in late April Stoltenberg said he could see the first encouraging signs.

But he was not to know that the upward trend was ending.

The Ifo Economic Research Institute found in its regular opinion surveys in the business community that "the improvement of the business atmosphere n evidence since last autumn is not continuing."

Production plans for the next three months show no growth impetus, the Institute says.

There are still showpiece branches of industry like the motor industry; and construction orders (construction receives massive government support) for housing showed a 14 per cent increase over the end of last year.

But even so, industry as a whole expects continued stagnation. The gains in housing construction have been lost in other branches of construction because local authorities don't have enough

Just about all branches of business are worried by the decline in orders from abroad. March and April showed a drop of eight per cent against the same period last year.

Though there is a clear upward trend in the United States, the economies of Germany's major trading partners in Europe are still ailing; and the Opec countries, which have always been important customers, have run out of

Count Lambsdorff put the business mood in a nutshell when he said: "This time, the impetus won't be coming from

Continued from page 5

tended over longer periods and there are fewer new commitments in order not to overstrain the budget

Pledges for bilateral capital aid will decline from DM2.4bn in 1983 to DM2.25bn in 1984 and technical aid will go down from DM1bn to DM0.9bn.

Cash payments in the form of capital aid will rise slightly from DM2.67bn to DM2.73bn and in the technical aid field the rise in cash payments will be from DM894m to DM950m.

All this boils down to less financial scope for the new minister. Heinz Heck

(Die Welt, 2 July 1983)

At home, the woes of steel and shipbuilding are only part of the story.

According to the Pederal Statistics Office, the tide of bankruptcles (which the conservatives while still in the opposition used as a symbol for the failure of the Schmidt-Genscher government) is unbroken. There were 5,713 from January until the end of April, 14.7 per cent more than in the same period of

Optimism over the immediate and more distant future is waning, particularly over investment at home.

According to the Bundesbank, there was a rapid outflow of capital in April (DM3.6bn of long-term and DM4.3bn of short-term money).

The balance of payments in the first quarter of this year was deep in the red. And it comes as no surprise that interest rates are rising again, largely because the Finance Ministry had to borrow massively to raise money for commit-

There are few certainties. Economic pundits both in and outside government say that though the economic position is still worse than it was a year ago, it is better than it was at the end of last year. The Bundesbank has also been trying to dispel the increasing doubts again.

Experts are now anxiously waiting to find out whether the April decline was just a passing phenomenon. For the goernment, much will depend on the an-

The Finance Minister's budgetary ideas can only work if a marked upturn sets in as early as this autumn. If not, new gaps in the budget will have to be closed. And that would mean that Stoltenberg would have to tackle the reduction of business subsidies in earnest.

The CDU and CSU election platform clearly stated that "subsidies will be reduced along with providing tax relief

So far, there has been no action other than the announcement of a review of tax deductions for losses and the socalled Bauherrenmodell for new cons-

There is not much more scope for reducing the welfare budget because unemployment benefits and social security pensions have already been slashed under existing plans.
Bonn's finance, economic affairs and

abour ministers say only higher social security contributions by employer and employee and pension cutbacks to be implemented by 1987 could save just under DM30bn.

The economising meaunres have not yet been completed. When they began, the Labour Minister said that "the shunting yard in social policy is being dismantied.":

But before this could happen the Bonn government started shunting billions from the unemployment fund to the pensions fund and from there to the national health system.

The Labour Ministry said that these were individual measures that would eventually; fit into the future overall concept. : ,

It has meanwhile become obvious that the original good resolutions (Labour Minister Blum; "We did not want to pursue a haphazard social policy. What we're doing is a common-sense social policy on a long term basis")

World economic recovery Growth in Western Industrialised nations (%) could not be upheld in their origins

Blum had a tough time preventing the Chancellor and the conservatives as a whole from breaking their campaign promise that there would be no postponement in the pensions increase scheduled for 1984.

And only a short while ago - after much haggling - the government temporarily shelved plans to raise the early retirement age for women from 60 to 63.

Blum's political destiny does not primarily depend on the revitalisaton of the pensions fund but also on the fight against unemployment.

The greater the doubts about an economic upturn, the more important it becomes to introduce additional job-creat-

The government, above all the labour minister, want capital participation on the part of employees to boost the liquidity of businesses. They also want legislation that would allow older workers to ratire voluntarily at the age of 58.

But both measures can only be effective if they are sweepingly implemented. This would require the cooperation of the trade unions because both capital participation and early retirement would have to be paid for with reduced wage demands.

And this can only be achieved if the unions are given a say about the use of the money accumulated by capital participation and if they were given guarantees that every job vacated by an elderly worker would be filled again.

Blum is well aware of this. He has said regarding capital participation that nothing would be done without the

But other Cabinet members disagree. They do not want any additional union rights. This applies not only to Finance Minister Stoltenberg but also to Economic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff. Lambsdorff, a liberal, is the actual

opponent of Blum. In fact, he is the moving spirit in the new coalition. Anybody looking for a programme of the centre-right government only needs

to refer to the so-called Lambsdorff Paper that was commissioned by Helend of the old coalition in September Most of Lambsdorff's demands which were then rejected by the CDU/

CSU, have meanwhile been implemented; cutbacks in the pay for civil servanta, fewer unemployment benefits for single people, reduced corporate and capital taxes; cutbacks in disability pensions and social welfare.

Lambsdorff is quite satisfied with the effects of these measures despite occasional setbacks.

He says wryly: "If necessary, I can present another paper."

Wolfgang Mauersberg (Hannoversche Aligemeine, 26 June 1983)

PERSPECTIVE

Could the jig-saw puzzle of divided continent have been different?

What might have happened if the wartime alliance against Nazi Germany had not broken up after World War II?

Would Germany have continued to exist within its 1937 frontlers? Or would the Allies have gone ahead with plans to divide Germany into several smaller

What would have been the consequences if the Western powers had not started to merge their zones from summer 1946? - thereby taking the crucial step in the direction of setting up a Western Germany.

What would have happened if the Soviet Union had not used the leeway London and Washington generally allowed it in Eastern Europe to pursue strict policies designed to safeguard its sphere of influence?

What if Moscow had accepted the Marshall Plan for economic reconstruction in Europe or won the 1948 Berlin blockade?

Might a lasting division of Germany have been averted if Adenauer and the Western Allies had responded positively to Moscow's 1952 offer of reunifica-

Stimulating and indispensable though questions such as these may be in sounding out different interests and leeways, research into recent history cannot be limited to speculation.

The US government opened its postwar archives to historians in the late-1960s. Brtain and France have now followed suit. So there is ample incentive for historians to delve deep into source material and find out what really hap-

The German Historical Institute, London, has hosted a gathering of British, French, Austrian, US and German historians to discuss and compare their findings on the role and importance of Germany in post-war Allied policies.

As the institute's head Wolfgang J. Mommsen, stressed, that the conference aimed mainly at clarifying the different foreign and German policy conceptsand leeways of the respective Allied

Reparations

Case studies were also to be reviewed in respect of the problems encountered in feeding and maintaining supplies to the German civilian population. Other issues for debate included the

Ruhr and reparations, the working of the Allied Control Council, the 1948 Berlin crisis and Allied willingness to jointly adminster Germany.

In a third and final section of the proceedings the options open to the Germans themselves, their attitude toward the progressive division of the country and their role in the East-West conflict were discussed.

Discussion about the division of Germany was bound to give rise to the queston of who was to blame,

Who was it? The Russians, the Americans, the British, the French or the Germans themselves?

threat from without? The course of the conference showed that a snap answer to this question is subterfuge of history Signor Barzini envisaged as accelerating European Integration. But we are in the threes of one



Laying the blame solely at the Soviet Union's door is as inappropriate to the historical facts as are judgments that neglect to balance cause and offect and spend so much time on the post-war period that they lose sight of the Third

This was a point clearly outlined in the opening address by Tübingen political scientist Theodor Eschenburg.

An important finding by the London conference was that the Americans, especially General Clay, were strongly in favour of restoring German unity until the beginning of 1948.

The Russians were interested in keeping German united until even later, whereas recent research into British policy, by Rolf Steininger and others,

In his memorable speech to the Lea-

gue of Nations on 5 September 1929

the French Foreign Minister, Aristide

Briand, solemnly called for the esta-

blishment of a United States of Europe.

come by two Europes, the Europe of 10, or EEC, and the Europe of 21, or Coun-

cil of Europe, with all manner of comit-

Could they be the reuson why noth-

ing more might be heard of the idea?

This gloomy forecast recurred at the lat-

est Aspen Institute conference on Euro-

and extend the degree of European in-

tegration already achieved, regardless

maximum that one would like to achie-

People came to Berlin for the confe-

ryday Europe in Strasbourg or Brussels

They welcomed the opportunity of

swapping hints on how to get on with

each other and subterfuges designed to

make the Europeans come to terms de-

The aim was not to review yet again

gage in what might be termed politi-

issues disputed within the EEC but to

The first fling of the European idea

was over, it was agreed. How might the

fires be rekindled? Possibly by calling

historic examples to mind, suggested an

Bismarck had united the German

Reich by means of wars with outside

powers. Could Europe possibly be gal-

vanised into solitarity by a military

An economic crisis was the second

Italian journalist, Signor Barzini.

and from Washington too.

spite diverging interests.

cal psychology.

tees to provide back-up.

the United States.

existed.

Since the Second World War we have

has shown that the Foreign Office seriously considered the setting up of a West Germany from the first half of

Britain seriously set about partition along these lines from that summer. whereas the French felt dividing Germany into two states without adequate economic, political and military controis went too far.

This point was put by Raimond Poidevin and Alan S. Milward, but the merger of the US and British zones into Bizonia was in effect the crucial move toward division of the country.

How did the Germans feel about it? According to Manfred Overesch the political decision-makers, such as the Prime Ministers of the Lander, showed few signs of fuelling discussion of the national question.

They, like the Allies, did not give priority to the restoration of national

tern powers' view that reus Germany that was not fine

When it came to discuss fects of the Korean War armament of the Federal was rightly asked whether was still open to change.

Once the pro-Western of Western Germany was large both economically and por military option was decidate of full integreaton in the Wes

Thus the Korean War was key event in the newly-form Republic's progress toward in

Even if the Soviet offerd tion made in March 1952 are the basic companies that it would have the discovery was made by scientists

In the circumstances this enjoy were tracking the Iras Araki Aling neither the Western Lik comet from the 100-metre radio-

How others see the German mentality

right now, and it seems to have the opposite effect.

Might the defence of European culture and civilisation provide sufficient momentum to speed the pace of inte-By calling to mind our common Eu-

The conference, in West Berlin, was attended by experts in politics, econoropean heritage and the many tasks it mics and the arts from both Europe and entails for the future we might well best be able to foster a European identity. They agreed, on the need to maintain

What was more, it would be based on openness rather than demarcation, especially toward eastern central Europc. But, as a leading Goethe Institute official put it:

what Euro-pessimists might think.
The pessimists, it was felt, would not realise how important this modicum of "To build Europe is to allow entirely uniformity had been until it no longer different cultures from our own guest status," That is not to set aside the dream of a

The Genscher-Colombo plan envisuges entrusting the European Community with new powers in the cultural sector extending beyond the purview of the Treaty of Rome.

rence from the hard bargaining of eve-Bonn government officials with responsibility for European affairs noted in Berlin that the Genscher-Colombo plan had prompted an appraisal in non-EEC member-countries of the Council

There had even been initial moves in the direction of a wider "cultural" Eu-

Why ought Europeans not to ride different hobby-horses in their progress toward a united Europe? Scandinavian participants at the Berlin conference promptly objected to too much regmen-

Europe's variety and regional apontaneity were its capital. They ought to be protected from too many regulations.

But what if Europeans were tired of Europe, disappointed by the slow progress in Brussels and Strasbourg? A French planning official said that 80 per cent of his fellow-countrymen

had said in a recent survey that they

were in favour of economic protectio-

lobbying in Washington has by a research satellite, which actries concerned,

They could learn to read setween them they account for most on, say, a common technolist its name, to which must be added the instead of looking idly while 1983 d, meaning the fourth comet to cans and the Japanese shared discovered this year.

pean market for microelectors 1983 d was a convenient target for the

Europe must become the state radioastronomers because a fair history, not its object. It must take of detailed individual reports from its dependence on other take had been submitted to the US outward-looking view and assistance of the International Astrosponsibility.

Europe could well play a control in Third World countries, and its trajectory could be plotted with role in Third World countries, and it regree of accuracy before it came where near the Earth, which was lively attentive as US speakers there is not enough time to set tude toward Europe to encountries for radioastronomical observa-

tude toward Europe to ent peans to join forces and short self-confidence.

be taken seriously on the old speak with one voice. As the process of political

making was increasingly design the United States, with the and the West gaining increase graphic and economic imports ropeans could no longer of the United States.

Konrad Adenauer than SPACE RESEARCH

rated in the West entailed Scientists hold breath over amazing comet discovery



eman astronomers have proved for the first time that ammonia, a nbining hydrogen and nitrogen, on another heavenly body, a

tion as a member of the West of amino acids that were later likeidentified in interstellar space.

he Max Planck Institute of Radioas-

Chancellor Adenauer were pieope at Effelsberg, near Bonn, as it accept.

Joseffer tied within 4.7 million kilometres (Frankfurter Aller 197,500 miles) of the Earth.

für Deutschied Tracking the comet at a wavelength

1.3 centimetres they also identified m on the surface of the comet. What was worse, French A comet has not for a long time

gement consultant said.

Special agreements between the Earth and the Sun, or dual European countries and million kilometres. So the comet countries and million kilometres. So the comet whole, an Italian military from Earth than the Moon.

This was particularly truttle it was the first comet to be discoverion by in Washington its first comet to be discoverion by in Washington its first comet to be discoverion.

The most forthright continues discovered on 25 April by the made, much to the Europass do-American-Dutch satellite Iras, by a US State Department of for infra-red astronomy satellite. suid that relations with them this has systematically probed invisi-must be the touchstone for the heat (infra-red radiation) in space In view of the challenge ps is it was faunched on 25 January United States and the Solid is to be used to make the first map feuropean countries could at least a few days after Iras saw the satellite spanese ampleur astronomer. Araki

bles and appreciate their contract their contract as British amateur, Alcock, discover-

for radioastronomical observa-

ils one proved an extremely fast Europe, they were told were when viewed from our own pla-It moved through the sky at a rate the Atlantic once it had ken one and a half degrees per hour, or hly the distance of three full moons side by side.

the Effelsberg radiotelescope's outer needed special adjustment to track of the whiz-kid comet.

vious attempts to observe comets radiotelescope had proved mainly ropeans could no longs amunistactory. Most bids tanco because maintain their traditional distributions usually steer a wide berth of the th and their radiation is extremely

To keep track of 1983 d the radiotelescope's operating schedule, which is prearranged weeks in advance, was changed at short notice.

On 11 and 12 May staff were able to observe the comet in the 1.3cm waveband at which wavelength in theory the radiation of three spectroscopic lines of the ammonia molecule and one of the water molecule was expected to occur. As in visible light the chemical ele-

ments advertise their presence in the radio wave spectrum by characteristic features of radiation emitted or receiv-

By means of the radiospectroscopically measured lines or combinations of lines astronomers can identify with a fair degree of certainty the presence of specific atoms or molecules.

The detailed structure of these lines also reveals information about physical phenomena, such as pressure or temperature, of the matter emitting or receiving radiation.

Using this method, molecular spectroscopy, radioastronomers have identified over 50 chemical compounds, often of some complexity, in the minute traces of gas between the stars.

Ammonia incidentally was the first molecule consisting of several atoms to be identified in this way: by the US Nobel laureate Charles Hard Townes in

Using molecular spectroscopic techniques the Max Planck radioastronomers aimed their instrument, the world's largest mobile radiotelescope, at Iras Araki Alcock.

Rendings were hampered by cloud and rain, so the scientists checked and rechecked them, using the Max Planck computer in Bonn, before unnouncing

Their main findings are:

• Only one of the three spectroscopic lines of the ammonia molecule was identified. It was weak but about three times the general level of atmospherics. The steam line was identified with

the same degree of certainty. The radioastronomers estimate from the overall level of radiation in the 1.3cm wavelength that the comet's core

must be several kilometres in diameter.

Pinpoint accuracy

They were thus able to locate it so exactly in the sky that within this degree of accuracy its position tallied with op-

The Bonn astronomers associated with the bid were Wilhelm J. Altenhoff, Wolfgang Batrla, Walter Huchtmeier, Jürgen Schmidt, Peter Stumpff and Mulcolm Walmsley.

All are staff at the Max Planck Institute of Radioastronomy, and their combined comment on their findings was:

"The findings must initially be viewed with the greatest caution. Reliable conclusions cannot be reached until all other observations, made elsewhere and in other spectral sectors, have been taken into account." Eugen Hintsches

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagablait, 3 July 1983)

it's been seeing things again . . , the radio-telescope near Bonn used to make the ammonia discovery (See story at left).

Political indecision clouds the future of satellite TV

Five or six years ago when European satellite technology was still the shape of things to come there was talk of 50 to 100 TV programmes being relayed by satellite to Germany.

Believers in technological progress felt the idea spelt hope with a capital H. Pessimists were sure it would mean the eclipse of the family and danger for

Europe's satellite future can now be viewed much more realistically, but it is not at present an issue that is hitting the

It ought to be one now the Ariane launcher rocket has finally succeeded in putting two satellites into orbit. The transport problems of European satellites seem to have been solved.

By 1987 there will definitely be three German satellites. The first will not be strictly speaking German; it is ECS, the European Communication Satellite, the prototype of which is already in orbit.

In February 1984 the full satellite is to be launched, and Germany will be entitled to use two transponders, or channels, relayed by ECS. The transponders can be used both for telecom

It will be followed in 1985 by TV-Sat, with two TV channels and a third radio wavelength capable of relaying up to 16. digitalised programmes.

TV-Sat will be a German-made experimental satellite sent up into space without a prototype or reserve unit. For an estimated two years it will undergo trials in its pre-operational phase.

But its active life-span will be much longer. It will probably be operational until the mid-1990s. The present OTS satellite, which relays English-language programmes, looks like having a longer life-span than expected.

In 1986 or 1987 a German telecom

satellite will be launched for scientific and telecommunications use with an additional facility of at least five transponders to relay TV programmes.

So by 1987 it should be possible to relay eight extra TV programmes in German, with even more satellite capacity to link Berlin with the rest of the country.

Yet although the technical developments can be realistically assessed noone can say for sure what shape the media will take.

Political forces in the Federal Republic of Germany are largely incapable of reaching a decision. To this day a decision has not been reached on how Germany's ECS channels are to be used.

For the second satellite, TV-Sat, the Prime Ministers of the Länder, who hold regional responsibility for broadcasting, have agreed to make no changes to the radio set-up during the trial

But they are reluctant to hand over the two TV channels entirely to the existing networks, ARD and ZDF.

Even so, they have yet to go further than agree in principle that third purties, meaning commercial operators, are to be allowed an opportunity of taking part with innovative programmes of their own.

Fruitless negotiations have been in progress for months to flesh out the de-

The broadcasting corporations have suggested five minutes' more TV advertising per evening to finance the new channels with even cash left over to help underwrite private operators.

The extra five minutes should gross DM400m a year, or DM300m net. Newspaper and magazine publishers

will hear nothing of this idea because Continued on page 10



ENERGY

A new Jet age to harness the sun

The Jet project, short for Joint European Torus, is the world's largest experimental fusion reactor. It has started operating at Culham, near Oxford, but hopes of harnessing thermonuclear fusion to generate power will not be realised until 1988 at the earliest.

cientists have hopes of harnessing Sthe nuclear fusion of hydrogen, the power that fuels the Sun, to solve mankind's energy problems on a long-term.

Their hopes lie with the Joint European Torus (Jet), a Euratom project, Euratom consisting of nine European countries who have now been joined by Ireland, Luxembourg and Greece.

The project was launched in 1978 for on initial 12 years. Jet was originally to have cost roughly DM 500m, but estimates have since increased by several hundred million.

Euratom is to foot 80 per cent of the bill, Britain 10 per cent and about 20 organisations the remainder. They include the Max Planck Institute of Plasma Physics, Munich, and Julich nuclear rescarch establishment.

The torus is merely the ring-shaped centrepiece of the reactor, the receptacle in which hydrogen nuclei are to fuse at an extremely high temperature and electrically supercharged.

Picase mail to: Priore d'envoyer à:

which can fairly be. compared with flashes of lightning. At first glance the ring looks like a very fat tyre for a very small whoel, but in cross-section! it resembles a D 4.2: metres tall and 2.5 metres wide, It weighs

several: hundred tonnes and. is not only designed to contain the plasma, maintained in its volatile state by magnetic fields. It is also part of a gielectric

the torus is held in place by eight iron

yokes weighing 2,700 tonnes. These yokes carry the primary windings and share with the electromagnets encompassing the walls and the overall shape of the torus the distinction of being the primary side of the system.

Noarly 40,000 and 70,000 amperes of current flow through these two electrical components. Their superimposed Plasma is the name given to matter in magnetic fields both heat the plasma

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transformer doubl- A space-age chamber of horrors? No, just the vacuum vessel of the Jet nuclear fusion reach the entertaining as well. ing as a secondary winding by which the torus, where the hot gases are confined. the plasma ring is heated. That is why and press it together so that it nowhere

makes contact with the walls. There is no way in which the walls could withstand contact with plusma at temperatures of up to 100 million de-

grees centigrade. The main aim of the Jet project is to reach such high temperatures in conjunction with a sufficiently high particle density to trigger the fusion reaction.

Progress toward this objective is to be undertaken gradually, starting with pttempts to heat the plasma magnetically to five million degrees centigrade.

From the middle of next year five more systems are to be used for this purpose. They will be based on two

One is to increase the temperature of the plasma by bombarding it with neutral particles, the other works with the energy input of high-voltage current.

By mid-1988 project scientists hope to reach temperatures of about 50 mil-

Continued from page 9

they are worried about losing even more advertising revenue to TV.

So the talks have been adjourned until autumn, and no-one in politics has yet given the slightest thought to how the TV capacity of German satellites might be used.

German satellites will not be up there on their own, of course. Britain and France, Belgium and Switzerland also have been allocated channels on board

TV-Sat will be joined by a French counterpart, TDF 1, in 1985. Britain too will have satellites and has already allocated channels in the first one t BBC, while ITV will be given channels in the second one.

Other countries, such as Scandinavia and Switzerland, will doubtless also make use of the opportunity, and since soundtracks can be broadcast simultaneously in several languages other countries are sure to relay programmes in German.

A few years ago the debate was meretheoretical. It is fast becoming reality. But in the Federal Republic of Germany politicians are still undecided on how to come terms with this imminent reality, page 19 ag

Franz Barsig (Kleier Nachrichten, 5 July 1983). (Frankfurter Rundschat in 19 THE CINEMA

omething for everyone at Munich's fun festival

German films, East European ms, women's films, children's off-Hollywood films, film discusd newsreels . . . you name it, the mich Film Festival had it.

selection was wide-ranging and tive though it lacked an overall

than 100 films were shown over sys, and since no prizes were d, the event was not intended as ders' workshop but simply as fun

unately, the festival fell short alm in most instances because mbers of the Munich jet set d to show off.

films were shown to invited only; off-Hollywood films were only in English; and there were hough films that the man-in-the-could easily understand and that

(Photo: Itt idal where were hardly any major films of tional standard. Those that were lion degrees, which in theory inded (such as Carlos Saura's fla-enough to trigger isolated in figo dream Carmon) had already Fusion energy could heat the service But even so, tickl'usion energy could heath were sold out well in advance.
to about 100 million degra of the new German films, Die flam-

In a fusion reactor the fusion with the fusion reactor the fusion was Lemke's Der Kleine, a naively is not intended to burn and rated tragedy set in Munich's underwere, but in a succession of old, received particular attention.

Jet's magnetic systems at the films dealt with the consupply are geared to sequent had "women's films".

Jo seconds in which the liter in instance: Rüdiger Nüchtern's Bosics are prepared and triggest in describes the crisis triggered in a Sequence by sequence the films dealt with the consideration are prepared and triggest in the crisis triggered in a sequence by sequence the films are prepared and triggest in the crisis triggered in a sequence by sequence the films are prepared and triggest in the crisis triggered in a sequence by sequence the films of the crisis triggered in a sequence of specific properties and the constalled capacity of Biblist who of the environment and the power station, near Mannhela spillity of a nuclear holocaust.

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(and be capable of triggering the line consequences of a nuclear category of the category of the consequences of a nuclear category of the categ

The film tells the story of two children

to discover a man living in a forest

that TFTR, the only companie schildren of the cinema scene. Reaject, was operational a few months are neither here not the distribution of the fact that they are in projects of this dimension with its also worth recalling that the distribution of the fact that they are in projects of this dimension works are filled to film makers shun dren's films like the plague. They tokamak-type reactor, was built to find out whether current ideas to their reputations. There are no plans as yet to be the process to generate the process to gen

Dietrich Zimmer

monucleur reactions.

tions of a second.

near Berlin. The man has fled from the city and is now to be made homeless again by the construction of the Berlin-Hamburg autobahn.

Impressively acted by Peter Roggisch with small gestures and quiet speech the man instils a love of nature in the children and makes them aware of the consequences of our environmental destruction.

Nater regards the children as equal partners. He does not oversimplify the environmental problem but presents it in all its complexity, making the film interesting for adults as well.

The Danish film Gummi-Turzan tells the story of a small, puny boy who is constantly mocked by his classmates. His father wants him to model himself on Tarzan, whom he sees as the epitome

of strength and courage.

The boy accepts this role in his dreams but realises that in real life he will always be who he is and that having a friend makes everything bearable.

The fact that East European films also had little public appeal, is probably due to the fact that the difference in mentality makes them hard to understand for Germans.

This applies, for instance, to the Bulgarian satire Letzte Wünsche, a ribald spectacle with many metaphors and allegories directed against state authority and warmongering.

The Soviet film Die Rückkehr der Mudame Butterfly is more readily understood. It is an aesthetic and elegiac biography of a Russian woman opera singer who gained international fame



Carlos Saura' tiamenco dream a sellout ... Carmen.

ound the turn of the century, forfeiting her private life in favour of her ca-

The Polish film, Bonus für Herkunft. is an amusing satire with a conciliatory sense of humour.

The East European films had no heavy handed ideology. But many seem naive to Western viewers, especially when describing life in the West.

But many also show an exemplary capacity for gentle humour, and the acting

The new festival head, Eberhard Hauff, has opted for a festival without cliques and prizes.

What he wants is to kindle and keep alive the interest in the cinema. He can achieve this if he eliminates the shortcomings. And there is still plenty of time to do so before the next lestival.

Gunter Jurczyk (Hannoversche Allgemeine, 29 June 1983)

Documentary cameras make exotic cultural points

The scene: a picturesque Alpino L landscape with a path leading up the mountain. People walking in single file and carrying assorted objects are headed by a mun in white swinging a walking stick. It looks like a group of

Sunday trippers. But it is not. The scene is part of the documentary film To find the Baruva Story, shown at Cologne Ethnographic Film Festival which was organised by the magazine Zelluloid and the Kölner Filmhaus.

The Alpine scene was shot in Papua New Guinea and the man heading the column is a British missionary and his Papuan bearers.

It has captured the parternalistic authoritarian character of missionary.

The same tradition can also apply to ethnological work today, say the Americans Jablonko and Olsson in their film about the field research of Maurice Godelier, a well-known French scholar.

While in this instance ethnological research as'a side-effect of colonialism is put into question, a number of other films shown during the four-day event deal with a more sensitive approach to alien cultures. hard did probabile till .

These films accept the cultural difference by describing it.) The long-term film study by the Australians Judith and David MacDougall is exemplary in this sense:

In three films (made in 1976, 1978 and 1981), they describe the Turkana, a nomadic people in north-western Kenya. There is a blend of detached observation and direct questioning.

Wedding Camels, one of the three films, deplots the "marriage policy," showing how a marriage starts by paying the dowry. After all, the father of the bride must be compensated for the loss of a daughter.

The ethnologists delve into the im-

portant social function of the dowry and the speculation and hopes of profit the clans of both bride and groom pin on the transaction! The makers of the film did not succumb to the temptation to comment on the events shown.

But sometime such pure observation things.

Even so, the series is a fascinating portrait of a people with a mood similar to the ethnographic feature film Fad Yal by Safi Faye. It depicts events in a Senegalese village, showing segments of

an ever-changing Africen reality.
For instance: Senegalese government official tells the elders of a village of a new law. He speaks in Prench. The faces of the villagers show no interest because they don't understand what is being said. I levil an think him ber

This scone demonstrates how a go-Continued on page 12 1/2 1/2

Best film not good enough: prize withheld

Dublic sector film promotion must not be seen as crutches for the lame but as tonics for convalescents and adolescents, Bonn Interior Minister Friedrich Zimmermann said at a ceremony in West Berlin marking the German Film Prize awards.

The 26 awards totalled DM1.5m. The top prize, the Gold Cup, was not awarded because there was no outstanding, German production.

Gold awards went to the directors Lutz Konermann (Auf der Mauer) and Peter Lilienthal (Dear Mr Wonderful) plus the actors Lena Stolze, Irm Hermann, Nastassja Kinski, Susanne Lothar and Gerhard Olschewski and the cameraman Martin Schäfer and Robby Fischer.

Silver awards went to five productions: Der Stand der Dinge by Wim Wenders, Heartbreakers by Peter F. Bringmann, Die weisse Rose by Michael Verhoeven, Funf letzte Tage by Percy Adlon and Mit starrem Blick aufs Gold by Helga Reidemelster."

Several short films were also awarded gold and silver.

Zimmermann used the award ceremony to air his views on future film production. He stressed that less than ten per cent of the films shown in cinemas last year were German made and that the interest in German films abroad was extremely poor.

He called for a review and adaptation present day needs of state film promotion. Since films should be enjoyed by ev-

erybody, he said, those with broad popular appeal should be promoted, Like the German Film Prize, which is

awarded for excellence, film promotion must also concentrate on quality. Zimmermann rejected accusations of

consorship levelled in connection with the film Das Gespenst, resulting in protests during the screening.

" He said that it would be an imposition to use public funds to promote films that offend the religious sensitivities of large sections of the public. He added that nobody would stop those who wanted to promote such films from vernment policy benefits from the buying a cinema ticket. (Die Welt, 27 June 1983)



I LITERATURE

'A book must be an axe' -Franz Kafka

any are the claims laid to Franz the day. It was both familiar and alien at the same time. writer in German who was born 100 years ago this summer.

He is claimed by Germans, Austrians and Czechs, by Christians, atheists and Jews, by ideologists in East and West and by all his countless interpreters (all of whom feel their views are strictly ob-

His literary output fulls by the wayside, buried under a confusing deluge of secondary literature in slender volumes and bulky tomes.

Friedrich Beissner complained as long ago as in 1952 that "hardly anyone deals with Kafka as an artist," by which he meant Kafka the writer.

This comment is as valid today as Hermann Hesse's 1956 attack on Kafka

"Kafka's tales are not treatises on religious, metaphysical or moral problems," Hesse wrote. "They are prose

"Kafka has nothing to say to us as a theologist or a philosopher but solely as

"It is not his fault that his superb poetic work has grown popular and is read by people untalented and unwilling to accept poetry."

To deal with Kafka's writing, the "monstrous world of the mind," is tantamount to never again parting company with a lifetime spent in writing, with the literary output that was his life.

Franz Kafka was born on 3 July 1883. His father was a Jewish fancy goods wholesaler in Prague. The house he was born in was on the border between the dilapidated ghetto and the Altstadt, or old city, which was a much more desirable residential area.

It was here that he grew up and spent his adult life. He went to junior school, a German boys' school on Fleischmarkt, from 1889 to 1893.

Then he went to the German Gymna. sium, or senior school, on the top floor of the Kinsky Palace on the Akstädter Ring from 1893 to 1901.

From there he went to the German university in Prague, taking a degree in law in 1906. A few streets away he took up his first job, from October 1907 to July 1908, with an insurance company.

He then became a civil servant and worked near Josefsplatz for the Workmen's Accident Insurance Corporation for the Kingdom of Bohemia.

He stayed with them until he was pensioned off in 1922, by which time he had risen to Obersekretär, or head of

Within an area of a few square miles his father Hermann, a keen businessman, tried his hand at social climbing and his sisters Elli, Valli and Ottla were married.

It was here that his friends Paul Kisch, Oskar Pollak, Max Brod, Felix Weltsch and blind Oskar Baum lived.

ghetto and the Altstadt, regularly crossing the Moldau by the Karlsbrücke to walk round the Kleinseite, to the castle that was (and still is) the seat of government, to the Chotekpark and the Lau-

Prague was for Kafka both fertile soil and a quagmire. It stood for loneliness and crowds, for bars and coffee houses, for the quiet of night and the noise of

It was part of the real outside world that Kafka both strove for and sought refuge from.

He travelled all round Bohemia, visited the North Sea and the Baltic, was in Dresden, Munich, Leipzig, Italy, Hungary and Switzerland, Vienna, Paris and, in particular, Berlin.

But Prague never lost its spell. It was, he wrote, a little old lady with claws. While sounding a note of regret he was far from dissatisfied.

His biographers have thus embarked on a quest for Kafka's Prague, for his castle (the one referred to in his novel The Castle).

They have identified it as this palace or that street corner or Friedland Castle in northern Bohemia.

Feeling they have found the key to his literary output they have continued to this day to equate factors that are simply not identical.

The scenes and characters in his stories and unfinished novels belong to Franz Kafka's other world, his "dreamlike inner life" that gained an independent existence in the nights he spent

For this inner world the real outside world cannot be more than a foil, a backdrop at most.

Reality only attains any importance when it interferes with his writing, his "dreadful occupation that makes me so unhappy when I am unable to keep it up," either hampering it or preventing it entirely.

Nowhere can this state of affairs be traced in grenter detail than in his strange inter-relationship between creative literary activity and the struggle to establish and maintain a firm relationship with a woman.

The sequence follows an unnervingly regular pattern. Once he gets to know a woman he writes scores of letters and embarks on an extremely productive literary phase that often comes to an abrupt halt after only a few months.

It does so because the emphasis has shifted and the match Kafka envisaged has imposed an increasingly heavy burden on his creativity, less externally than intellectually.

Kafka starts to break the ties but never ever clearly makes a decision. Yet he then resumes his literary work until too comes to a halt for months or

The Verdict (1912) and In the Penal Colony (1914) mark his first engagement, with Felice Bauer. In 1917, just before his second enga-

Continued from page 11

chasm between tradition and the modern age. Safi Faye, an African, knows what

Kafka went for long walks round the she wants to express. She concentrates on the theme and knows how to handle the tools of her trade. This does not apply in equal measure

to Diane Bonnelame and Peter Heller's . Wie andere Neger auch, Bonnelame, an African ethnologist, has riveted her ethnological sights on West Germany. She depicts "cases" from Dusseldorf, Bremen, and Cologne, contrasting, them with African phenomena that have been

taken out of their social and historic context.

But this "alien" look at realities in the Federal Republic of Germany is only seemingly alien, it provides no deep insights but only effective contrasts. The motley, fast-moving film, forfelts the opportunity of arriving at new settings and insights.

. All in all, the variety of the films at the Ethnographic Film Festival familiarised the German audience with a genre that was hitherto unknown in this country.

Gerda Meuer (Kölner Studt-Anzeiger, 29 June 1983)

gement, he started writing his Country Doctor tales. When he broke it off he began writing his aphorisms.

There was a similar sequence in connection with his relationship with Julie Wohryzek in 1919 and with his Czech translator, Milena Jesenska, in 1920.

The outside world, here embodied by women and elsewhere by the all-nowerful father figure, makes its impact on Kafka's reality.

He reacts in the way he recorded in countless letters and diary entries by wanting to be boundlessly alone, facing no-one but himself.

"I have often thought," he writes to Felice, "the best way of life for me would be to be in the innermost room of an extensive, closed cellar with nothing but writing materials and a lamp.

Food would be brought in to me but left as far away as possible from my own room behind the outer door of the

"The walk through the vaults in my dressing-gown to pick up my food would be my only exercise... How much I would write!

"From what depths would I be able to retrieve it! Effortlessly! Utmost concentration requires no effort . . . "

In enforced and self-imposed isolation an ocuvre of breathtaking density and impressiveness takes shape. With a razor-like gaze Kafka dissects life: unerringly, warts and all.

He describes anxiety and unconnectedness, self-allenation and hardship, the anonymity of the individual and his self-destruction.

He outlines the anonymity of institutions and their all-engulfing soullessness, the quest for truth and the abandonment of self, self-confirmation and

He deals with escape and marking time, arrival without ever having got anywhere, and hopelessness as the beginning of hope.

As I write these concepts down I am well aware that I am expressing myself in a cowardly manner and in the worst

It seems impossible to talk or write about Karka without revealing much, maybe all too much about oneself, one's way of dealing with and subjective experience of his work, one's own crying anxiety and helplessness.

It seems a case of the often despairing quest for sense in the apparently meaningless, of reading constantly recommenced and to be begun, and not ending for a lifetime.

With very few exceptions reviewers and critics have steered clear of this by reverting to the arbitrariness of grand concepts and definitions.

When Kafka died on 3 June 1924, a month before his 41st birthday, of tuberculosis at a sanatorium in Kierling, near Klosterneuburg, virtually only insiders, friends and men of letters had heard of the six slim volumes of his work published during his lifetime.

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There is no writer in will should month.

There is no writer in will should month.

There is no writer in will should month.

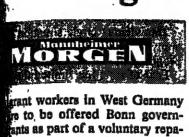
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line of what can still be expression. Labour Minister Norbert Blum Kafka's language provides the press that the proposals ended tunce. It intensifies the need to be of suspended animation that had nation and commentary. In a letter he wrote to Oshi kers to decide to return home vol-

MINORITY GROUPS

Eash for migrant workers who go back home



is will be DM10,500 per worker

M1.500 per child who goes back Franz Kafka ... Prague ner he family to their country of ori-

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will be available to migrant They were Observation (Metamorphosis (1915), Te ten who are out of work because (1916), In the Penal Colony factory has gone bankrupt or Country Doctor (1919) and the offer will also be available to minal Starver (1925)

nal Starver (1925). His major unfinished of for at least six months.

Trial, The Castle and Assertials were announced by the Bonn edited by Max Brod and public net on 22 June and immediately humously in the mid-1920s.

The first collected editional deldorf-based trades union confedurable appeared in the 1930s.

This all changed dramate the offer is limited to Yugoslavs, Ko-the apocalypse of World s, Moroccans, Portuguese, Span-Kufka's stories and novek s, Tunklans and Turks and subject the German-speaking work ooh them and their families leaving United States and France.

Only then did German mental partial only be paid critics begin to take noticed shildren who were living in German repartations of the man and sefore I June 1983.

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at the age of 20 Kafka set grass fully.

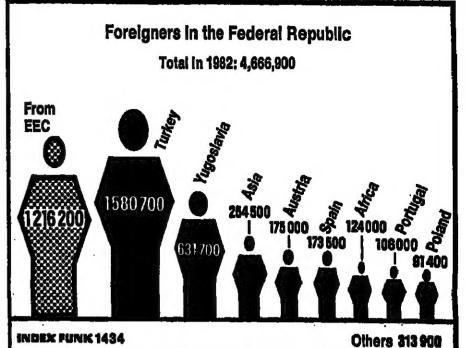
literature, and despite his the satural wastage totals 30,000 a year,

he said. He was expecting an extra 55,000 migrant workers to take up this latest offer this year and next.

Repatriation must be permanent. Those who take advantage of the scheme will be disqualified from ever holding permanent resident permits

An exception may apply to Spaniards and Portuguese if their countries join the EEC and they are then entitled, after a transitional seven years or so, to live and work anywhere in the Common

Repatriation will cost the Bonn go-Continued on page 14



Bid to put a 'Balkan tariff' on foreigners' motor insurance

nnouncing plans to penalise mi-Agrant workers by charging them higher motor insurance premiums, Hans-Jürgen Schwepke of Allianz insurance said the present system discriminated against German motorists.

The idea of what has been dubbed a Balkan tariff is nothing new. It has been going the rounds for over four years. but legal and political aspects have dissuaded motor insurers from going

Allianz are keen to clarify matters and have applied to the insurance licensing authority in Berlin for permis-



sion to introduce special rates for fo-

reign nationals. For years Turks, Greeks and Yugoslavs have been involved in much more expensive motor insurance claims than German policyholders.

The Motor Insurers' Association (HUK) has figures to prove that claims by Turks insured in Germany are 50 per cent higher than the average for German motorists.

The corresponding figures for Greek and Yugoslav motorists insured in Germany are 20 per cent higher than this average.

Most drive older cars in poorer condition than the average and regularly drive long distances home, having accidents en route.

People are often injured in these car crashes, and that costs insurers dearly.

Equality before the law is an accepted legal principle but has never applied in motor insurance, where third-party rates for public service employees and farmers have always been lower than those for the general public.

Rates also vary depending on whether you live in the city or the countryside, quite apart from no-claims bonuses that can cut the cost of motor insurance by up to 60 per cent.

Motorists with a bad accident record can also be penalised. They can pay up to twice the basic rate. Premiums vary from car to car, being based on horse

The Balkan tariff could be based on a general or individual classification. being charged at so many per cent over the basic rate or completely reassessed.

But before the Berlin watchdog authority has it say the Bonn government will doubtless be consulted.

The problem is that Bonn foresces political problems over and above gene-

ral objections such as Social Democrats' disapproval of xenophobia.

One is that Bonn is bound by EEC commitments not to discriminate against Common Market nationals resident in Germany.

This commitment may afford relief to Greek motorists, but "overriding political considerations" apply to Turks and

Bonn is keen on repatriation of a number of migrant workers and their families and needs to maintain as cordial ties as possible with the governments in Ankara and Belgrade.

A dispute over insurance premiums could easily assume the proportion of a discrimination scandal and create a great deal of political ill-will.

German motor insurers are still determined to find out where they stand. They argue that German motorists have long had to pay premiums that were too

This state of affairs, they say, must be brought to an end. But how? The Berlin insurance licensing authority seems sure to consider the application for at least six months before reaching a deci-

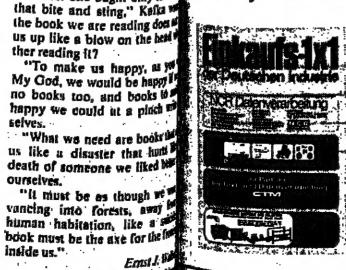
It is legally entitled to a six-month review period and unlikely to venture an opinion before it expires.

If the application is rejected on ac-count of objections raised by the Bonn government the insurance companies plan to appeal.

In other words, if the politicians fail to state a clear case the issue will be taken to the Federal Administrative

(Der Tagesspiegel, 26 June 1983)

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BEHAVIOUR

Rape: new research stands some popular views on their head

Specialists dealing with criminals and crime widely agree that rape victims contribute to the crime in some

A 1976 study by Hartmann/Rindfleisch says rape is always provoked by the victim - consciously or unconsciously.

They wrote that the mere sight of a female, something about her manner of movement, dress or figure, can trigger the crime. But the victim is unaware of what is happening.

An American criminologist, Amir, wrote in 1976: "In a way, the victim is always the cause of the crime."

And in 1975 a German study maintained that there was no such thing as rape and that "women in retrospect describe a neutral situation as rape."

Crime psychologist Hischer in 1970 called for a change of attitude in favour of the raper. The raper, he said, is a pitiable victim who gets caught up in the machinations of frustrated women.

Kurt Wels disagrees with his colleagues. He says that their views although widely held, are disastrous. They are the result of analysing rapers and looking at the problem from their point of view. The victims point of view was insufficiently taken into account.

Wels points out that public opinion doesn't agree with what the experts

Some 69.2 per cent of the people.

Kurt Weis, Die Vergewaltigung und ihre Opfer (Repe and its Victims), F. Enke Verlag, Stuttgert, 252pp, DM45.

Weis interviewed in Saarbrücken think that a rapist will "try to cheapen his victim in order to justify the deed."

In May 1979, Weis and four women assistants manned a telephone at Saarbrücken University. The telephone was meant to give rape victims an opportunity anonymously to discuss their expe-

The caller, from the city and the countryside, came from all walks of life. Most of the victims did not report the rape to the police. They felt that this would have been pointless because of the widespread belief that a woman

who fights back cannot be raped. Kurt Weis lists a number of myths and stereotype ideas about rape. Among them: that the raper is usually cither sick or a stranger to his victim; that such a thing cannot happen to a "decent woman"; that men cannot stand being slighted or rejected and that rape is their revenge.

This, the author says, explains why many rape victims develop guilt complexes although they know that they did nothing to provoke the assault.

The average time lapse between the rape and the phone call was 13 years,

the shortest being one week and the longest 48 years.

Many women said that they had sufferd from the event for years and, in some cases, decades.

Said one of them: "I have become inhibited for the rest of my life." She had been raped ten years carlier when she Was 42. "When I heard about the telephone

on the radio this morning, I said to myself 'maybe this is your chance to talk about it with somebody," said a woman who had been raped 35 years earlier when she was a girl of 15.

Almost none of the women experienced the rape as a sex act. For most of them - especially the many older women - the assault was a humilia-

Only two of the 77 callers said that they had overcome the experience relatively soon and had sufferd no lusting psychológical damage.

One of them, who had been raped 40 years earlier, said: "I don't think about it anymore. I'm a grandmother now and I've forgotten about it." But many of the callers suffer from

permanent fears and depression They have withdrawn. Twelve of the women had never discussed their experience for feur of it becoming public knowledge."

Although the police advise women not to put up too much resistance in make him even more violet ODERN LIVING policemen blame women

said against me."

rape for not having put up Germans reveal what they really think Many women said that of the reasons why they w about sweating over a hot lathe port another rape to the said: "They used just about

This vicious circle situate many's business community was apply to rape only but it is the faturally pleased with the Econopronounced in this type of the Affairs Minister, Count Lambs-Feur of rape has limited when he said in July 1980 that movement for all women, it has must work harder and more it, this also serves in a many many work harder and more

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Christa De that the Japanese were. less might have been pleased root of all evil had been reco-

but workers and the unions equally naturally, outraged at Go-home parlanded with the blame.

into the subject.

Continued from pen inion researcher Elisabeth Noellevernment DM60m this sann, of the Allensbach market re-DM220m in 1934. The loss institute, and the Berlin econo-ings in unemployment beath surthard Strümpel, who disagree, dren's allowance should total suchanged several open letters on Social security pension has towards work. Social security pension in stand to lose an immediate in

research has been funded by the refunds but to gain better tragen Foundation, carried out by and DM2.5bn in pension of the Aspen Institute and based its ed.

The trade unions are stated to the entire idea. Siegfield is lopsided relationship between the DGB national executive and work is attributable first and sponsibilities include migrate to "the people who have turnsays the government's proper mistake and illusory as passible pins the blame on "work foreign residents."

chesm that separates the two is also shown by how opinion

Frau Noelle-Neumann and used Allensbach polls to supeir findings. But each used diffe-

the question around which the revolves is essentially simple: Id you say that your present job be you fully, partly or not at all?"
fording to Strümpel and the analyAllensbach poils the answers in
adjected that half of the work Here absolutely satisfied.

1969, this figure stood as high as cent. This dropped to 45 per cent lle-Neumann based her findings ferent polls. She finds a close link in a general enjoyment of life and hess at work. She therefore posed lessions differently and arrived at lowing findings:

1973 polls, 68 per cent of workers faid that they were fully satisfied their jobs were also satisfied with

lives in general. Jenty-one per cent said they were partly satisfied with their jobs. quent polls in 1979 and 1982 con-these findings, says Noelle-Neu-

theless, she, too, finds that is a certain "identification orisis," deterioration of the attitude towork and a gap between reality

impel opposes this theory, des-

have broken down."

The post-war social market economy brought to the fore the virtues of industriousness, solidarity and tolerance. He describes this as "a cultural feat with which business, stockholders and old

age pensioners fared well." Today's polls show that young people are not tied so strongly to their occupation and pleace of work as they once

The younger generation no longer considers itself closely attached to the employer. (Strong attachment in the age group above 55: 48 per cent; among the 35 to 54-year-olds: 38 per cent; and among the younger workers: 26 per cent.) It also considers itself underpaid.

The generation gap is most pronounced on the question whether a job worth only the work that has been contractually agreed upon or whether it deserves an extra effort and "sacrifice".

Fifty-six per cent of the 18- to 24year-olds say that they do no more than they have to. This figure drops to 36 per cent for those over 34 and to 24 per cent for people over 55.

Sixty-three per cent of the people in the latter age group say that they consider the term "sacrifice" not exaggerated in describing their attitude towards

Listlessness at work is particularly widespread among blue collar workers, low-level white collar workers and civil servants. Managerial staff and highranking civil servants along with-freelancers and other self-employed have lost none of their work drive in the past 20 years.

Noelle-Neumann's explanation is that these people do not think only of themselves. This is the reason why people who give their best at work generally feel happier.

She therefore raises the question as to what educational principles and cir-cumstances at the place of work improve performance and hence self con-

In her view, there is no disputing the fact that there is a close link between self-confidence and well-being. Recent opinion surveys show that

many Germans feel that many young people founder on strict discipline. "But it could just as well be the other way around if strict discipline is unterstood as education towards self-control.

People can also founder on a lack of self-control."

She points to the fact that the number of respondents in American and Japanese polls who favour a strict upbringing is much greater than in Germany. Correspondingly, those countries also have a more positive attitude towards work.

Researchers now ask themselves whether our work places leave too much to be desired. Polls show that technical changes at the place of work are generally seen in a rather positive light and that most workers feel that these changes have made their work more interesting and more comfortable.

Only unskilled and semi-skilled workers frequently complain that technology has made their work more monoto-

This has led Strümpel to conclude that more and more people regard pay as secondary compared with the other things work has to offer, such as prestige, fulfilment, social contacts, personal development, etc.

Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann, on the other hand, deplores the gradual dismantlement of the things that "help people to gather strength and develop their capabilities." According to her, there is a decline in rewards for excellence and sanctions for lack of it.

As proof, she lists the fact that 51 per cent of the respondents in a 1982 survey think that good workers earn no more than the rest.

"What do we expect? How angelio must people be who get no reward for an extra effort and suffer no disadvantage as a result of absenteeism?" she

asks emphatically. Lack of say at work is a further indicator of the frustration that prevails today, says Noelle-Neumann.

No matter what the occupation, polls show that there is a conspicuously close link between a subjective feeling of freedom at work and well-being.

Forty-four per cent of those who have a feeling of freedom at work feel rested and full of energy on getting up in the morning, compared with 25 per cent of those who do not have this sense of freedom.

Seventy per cent of workers with a pronounced feeling of freedom say they are completely satisfied with their jobs,

as opposed to 28 per cent of those who do not feel free,

"Social policy makers must be imaginative in providing more freedom for personal decisions in all areas of life," says Nocile-Neumann.

Such a sense of freedom, she says, would also contribute to more health at work, as polls show.

More decision making scope and more part-time jobs (especially for women) rank among her top demands.

Her view of German bosses is anything but flattering. International polls conducted by the Allensbach institute shed some light on the humiliating experiences of German, Swedish, Japanese and American workers. The Germans had much more reason to complain than their opposite numbers in the other countries.

Noelle-Neumann asks: "Are German bosses that much tougher, inconsiderate and indifferent towards the feelings of thier staff? Are they that much more authoritarian?"

But she does not put all the blame on German bosses, pointing to the fact that the staff they are dealing with is by and large less interested and more comfortoriented than their opposite numbers abroad. Moreover, she says, Germans resent authority more than the others.

Strumpel disagrees. He says that Germans today are more active, more committed in matters of civic affairs and generally more satisfied with their lives than before. Only satisfaction at work lags behind.

Strümpel agrees with Noelle-Neumann that this is largely due to a lack of say at work.

But he accuses his opponent of con-tradiction herself on this point, saying: "One day, you praise co-determination and the scope of decision at work and the next day, when the workers take you at your word and demand more say (Before I act on an instruction I want to be convinced that it is right'), you shush them. The way you see it, there is

not enough discipline in our culture." He counters her praise of the "sacrifice ethics of workers who always want to give of their best regardless of the pay," saying that disability figures might be less shocking if work had been "de-mythologised earlier."

He reiterates his theory that unskilled and semi-skilled workers are the most listless while freelancers show the greatest work drive. According to him, it is not such traditional values as sense of duty, industriousness and orderliness that account for the latter's attitude but the conditions under which they work.

To substantiate his theory, Strumpel cites the fact that polls show that only four per cent of Germans believe that they can make a swift career in their jobs. In the USA, 30 per cent are convinced that they can rise rapidly.

Especially where young people are concerned, Strümpel says, this could offer an explanation for their lack of enthusiasm for work.

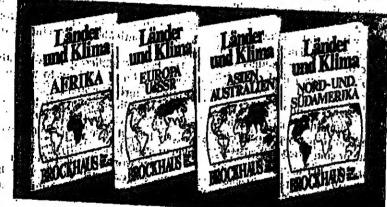
Strumpel also points to another aspect worth pendering: economic growth in this country has lagged behind the growth rates of other Western industrial nations since 1970.

But productivity in Germany has risen more steeply than in similar coun-tries and the number of available jobs has diminished. The question he poses is: Is work stress the reason for the disenchantment?

In any event, Strumpel concludes that we should be grateful for the diminished work drive because this could help solve unemployment at a time when growth can no longer do this.

Brika Martons (Die Zeit, 24 June 1983)

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Editorial Herbert von Borch Klaus Riller Walter School

"she says that much of this is to the "general tenor of the mass and school textbooks."

edis and, what's more, a manifes-of a lack of faith in the public's consense and judgment."

cording to Strümpel, "the crisis of sork force is, like most other crises, like of the capacity to learn. The manning of the capacity to learn.

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WORLD AFFAIRS

Plenty for Kohl to talk about in Moscow apart from missiles

hancellor Kohl felt in Moscow that Chis Soviet hosts were courting his

The Chancellor's spokesman announced at one stage that Herr Kohl himself had appealed to his hosts with an undertone of entreaty.

The Bonn-Moscow summit month was the first since the Christian Democrats took over from the Social Democrats in Bonn. It was also the first since Yuri Andropov took over as Kremlin leader.

In November 1982, when world leaders flew to Moscow for Mr Brezhnev's funeral, Chancellor Kohl was in Washington for talks with President Reagan.

Mr Reagan deliberately chose to miss the opportunity of a meeting with the new Soviet leader.

A Reagan-Andropov meeting has become a prestige issue. It was one of Herr Kohl's political priorities in Moscow. The Chancellor told his hosts he wanted such a meeting to take place.

He felt the Soviet leader was sympathetic toward the idea.

He was certainly convinced that the General Secretary, as he persisted in calling the Soviet head of state, was in full command of his faculties even though he might be in poor health.

"He can even leugh," Herr Kohl later told associates. There could hardly be a greater compliment Helmut Kohl could pay a left-winger, regardless of the So-cial Democrat or Marxist-Leninist va-

The Chancellor's Kremlin talks, held on the eve of missile modernisation, cannot have been all entertaining on ba-

Herr Kohl and his associates set out to make sure that ties with Moscow were well able to weather a hot autumn both at home and abroad,

What he had to say was that the new US missiles would be stationed in Germany unless agreement was reached in Geneva that made them unnecessary.

But the stationing of new missiles in Germany need not and must not have a negative effect on bilateral ties.

The Chancellor particularly empha-

Continued from page 1

ring. It holds forth the prospect of an arms race into barbarity, strictly for purposes of mutual deterrence, of cour-

We risk being wiped out as a species

It will certainly succeed in doing so if it manages to steer clear of political vio-

lence and communist manipulation, Detente as a military means of keeping world peace is breaking down under the impact of progress in arms techno-

What is needed is a change in political thinking that does justice to the growing danger mankind faces.

(Der Tagesepingel, 17 July 1983)

SONNTAGS BLATT

sised the billion-deutschemark loan to the GDR as a token of good will and of. Bonn's urgent desire to keep up busines as usual with its treaty partners in the East come what might.

The GDR loan, a domestic coup on the part of Chancellor Kohl and the Bavarian Premier, Franz Josef Strauss, seems in this context almost to amount to compensation to the Warsaw Pact for: the wrong it feels it will be done by Nato's missile modernisation.

Will business as usual be possible once the West goes ahead with stationing the new missiles? The Bonn delegation in Moscow gained the impression that the Russians were not prepared to sacrifice bilateral progress achieved in the 1960s and 1970s to the political clash over the new medium-range missi-

The Soviet Union would continue, it had been evident in the course of the talks, to seek new opportunities of coo-

Not for nothing had the Russians referred more than once to the East Bloc treuties negotiated by a Social Democrat-led Bonn government in the inte-1960s and early-1970s;

Helmut Kohl made similar mentions of the Ostpolitik treaties with Moscow, East Berlin and a number of East European countries.

At the same time his Soviet hosts made it absolutely clear that once missile modernisation had begun there could not possibly be anything resembling a state of normality in the West.

"It must clearly be realised," the Soviet Promier, Mr Tikhonov, said as the talks began, "that the stationing of new missiles in the West will inevitably lead to a serious deterioration of the situation in Europe and the entire world."

In keeping with the logic of global armament there will naturally be a Soviet response to missile modernisation, "Additional measures," the Russians

Yet the Russians cannot seriously believe that such gloomy forecasts might persuade today's Nato governments to call off the missile modernisation part of the December 1979 dual-truck deci-

Mention was inevitably made of the political framework conditions of ties between Bohn and Moscow. As Herr Kohl pointed out in the first round of talks, they could not be viewed in Isolation from East-West ties as a whole.

The Soviet leaders reiterated an assurance they had gradually grown accus-

Optimism for Geneva despite a build-up of Soviet warheads

S-21s, the latest medium-range So-viet missiles, have been stationed in the GDR for some time. They are the successors to the controversial SS-20 that led to Nato's missile modernisation decision

SS-21s in the GDR were on the agende at a mid-July session of the Federal Security Council in Bonn.

Defence Minister Manfred Wörner mentioned them at a Press conference in Bonn. He said they were in the GDR and had heightened the military threat to Western Europe.

Herr Worner added that the Soviet Union was busy constructing successors to the SS-21: the SS-22 and SS-23. The decision to develop the new models had been taken before Nate's December

Nato for its decision on missile moder-

might at least be achieve at the Geneva talks by the superpowers. It would call for flexibility on the part of both sides.

Soviet Union to make the next move because the United States had already made one in saying it was prepared to

that the stationing of Pershing 2 and Cruise missiles as enviseged by Nato would give the West a first-strike capacity in Europe.

This was incorrect because the range and number of missiles involved was inadequate to knock out all political and military targets and centres of decision in the Soviet Union.

The Pershing 2, he said, would not even be able to reach Moscow.

to Moscow had again called for British and French nuclear weapons to be included in the Geneva disarmament

Herr Bahr, he said, had done the Federal Republic and the West a disservico. It was all the more remarkable that chais, had opposed in Moscow the inclusion of his country's nuclear weapons in the purview of the Geneva

The SPD has condemned the US Senate's approval of construction of the controversial neutron device, saying there is now a danger of a further turn of the screw in the arms race.

group in the Bundestag's foreign affairs committee, says he suspects the Bonn government might confidentially have given the United States the go-shead to store neutron devices in Germany.

(Handelablatt, 15 July 1983)

Schmidt and Willy Brandt HOME AFFAIRS They said the USSR had a of persuading the Pederal R Strauss asked to explain Germany to pull out of Name Strauss asked to explain ing the much-vaunted well. Not since Adensuer's loan to East Berlin Bonn's loyalty to Nato is a America in particular bear

tratively emphasised by a local strauss, Prime Minister of cellor in Moscow. It was not just that Henry harle, has been re-elected head of the made the point of soven sistan Social Union. But delegates to

Continued from page 1

iched is the most that can be expect-

animinity all process

He now describes Strauss' leader-

DMIbn loan Strauss arranged

as a "one-man democracy."

condemning for 13 years?

the affair.

ef Strauss in a letter sent on 2 July. It

egedly arrived on 6 July, by which

the Press had already seized hold

streasons why Handlos wrote a sc-

He sought no discussion with Strauss

or indeed with his district party leader,

waria's Environment Minister Dick.

d letter, this time to resign.

· (Westdoutsche Allgemeine, 16 July 1983)

lat present. Huns-Georg Glaser .

keen as he was to draw police party's conference in Munich made it tions between him and his party is that many are not happy with him.

He stressed that he had as majority was down to 77 per cent. In the an interpreter, let along a stajority was down to 77 per cent and his between Washington and his at result until now was a meagre 86.8

The Americans played a result until now was a meagre 86.8 rent in 1963 after the Spiegel Affair. Paring for the Chancellor's in time, the issue that appears to have Soviet capital that in both him at delegates is the DM1bn bank creits intensity went further the pregolated for the German Democrafor the foreign policy of he Republic and guaranteed by Bonn. states. s, a hard liner on dealings with the Foreign Minister Gensche DR, is reputed to have played a major a member of the Chancelloid in setting the deal up with the banks.

Moscow, flow specially to be forehand for last-minute controlest against the leadership style with the US Secretary of it of the CSU Bavarian Prime Minis-Two close associates of the resignation of a long-standing party

lor's flew to Washington, remember over the issue of the DM1bn a cordial letter from the Project The chief US delegates h Mr Nitze, und in Medrid, W. Madrid talks

talks before the Chancile

A senior State Department tension of confidence-building mea-and arms expert, Mr liut, the resin the military sector. Bonn was even given the design the military sector. The first Helsinki review conference Kohl's Kromlin after-dissuss. Belgrade averted failure only by

read and comment on. Igreeing to nothing more than a further Was the visit a success in funference in Madrid. Was the visit a success in Sonference in Madrid.
tensive preparations? Thesis the Madrid conference has been a
ed tendency these days to he seess in comparison. Given the tense
tious in attempting to make the matternational situation the compromise

The Bonn government clish illumaburg summit, with lust security, a success. It lists non-fallure of the EBC's Sup mit as a success.

Viewed in this light the Mark Tranz Handlos, the CSU MP at the could also be termed a succession of the storm, says he resigned showed that ties between the party because he didn't want be a coward.

Moscow are heading for this light the Mark Book as CSU memlandlos, 43, has been as CSU memperiod.

Bonn government spokess the largest partial of the two leaders to get to be majority in Bavaria.

Borner Their relations seem and the has always been a staunch sup-

arefully.

It is not enough to reduce the resignation has come as such a surto be called German Osipoli level of a US-defined alliance ward Moscow.

The German Democratic Republic the German Democratic Republic the sa a blow for him. How was he to believe Editor Hander Archary 1975 had to his constituents that they see soler Series Surrent - Outside Str had to accept what the party had decrease People.

A school is exactly what he asked Franz riedrich Reinecke Verleig Grobil 23 Edioni⁾ emburg 76, Tel. 22 (6) 1. Teles. 02-1073.

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All articles which THE GERMAN TROUGHT published in cooperation with the short leading nemapages of the Faders Report to my They are complete translations of the right no way spridged not additionly reducted.

Nordwest #Zettung -loan to East Berlin goes deeper than

party officials admit. This is shown by the way the party has stepped up efforts to depict the resignation of Bonn MP Franz Handlos as an isolated case and the lengths to which it has tried to emphasise the major role Strauss played over the loan.

information gap between the party leadership and the rank and file. The confusion lies in the fact that Strauss is on record as stressing that

This all indicates that there was a big

concessions to the GDR must be made on a quid pro quo basis. Now the party grassroots and the

electorate need somehow to be convinced that this basic principle is still unchanged because the GDR has already done its part by improving its treatment of travellers at border checkpoints and by improved technical cooperation.

But there was also another reason why Strauss was interested in it being known that the loan to East Berlin, which was expressly approved by Bonn, was arranged by him in direct talks with top GDR representatives.

For a politician as sure of himself as Strauss it must be intolerable to think that there could be as much as a rumour that the loan was arranged by Chancellor Kohl and Foreign Minister Genscher and that he, Strauss, was simply confronted with a fuit accompli-

The extensive explanations of 11 July were intended to tell the CSU and the fluence in Bonn is as strong as ever. But the Handlos affair shows that the

public that the Bavarian leader's in-

CSU grassroots intends to judge its leader not only by his words but by his deeds as well. They want consistency. Strauss showed some success in re-

conciling apparent inconsistencies just before the CSU party congress. So it is likely that he will emerge from the congress in firm control.

Even so, he has now for the first time been shown that there are limits to how far he can go.

In future, he will have to coordinate his policy better between the party rank and file, the executive committee and the CSU Bundestag group. He will also have to improve the flow of information to the grassroots.

But everybody knows that Strauss is capable of change. Bodo Schulte

(Nordwest Zeitung, 12 July 1983)

CSU chief causes amazement over role in credit deal

The DMIbn that the Federal Repu-I blic has made available to the German Democratic Republic through bank loans guaranteed by Bonn is haying its sequel in Munich.

The loan was arranged by the Bavarlan Prime Minister, Franz Josef Strauss, with a consortium of Bavarian

It has now been learned that Poland's imbassador to Bonn, Tadeus Olechowski, has visited Herr Strauss in

He is said to have offered Strauss assistance when he visits Poland shortly and to have asked whether Herr Strauss would like to talk about politics when he is there.

The involvement of Strauss in both

been a source of incomprehension to many people, including CSU members,

Strauss as a champion of mercantilism in relations with the East Bloc and as the spearhead of a changing CDU/ CSU Ostpolitik: too much to believe.

One who is upset is Bonn CSU MP Franz Handlos, He has resigned from the party after 27 years.

In an effort to stop speculation, Strauss explained that his role in obtaining the loan was played out in conjunction with the Bonn government. (Strauss holds no federal post). :

But the doubts remain. Did Strauss start the whole thing rolling himself because he thought it would be of benefit, and then tell Bonn?

Was Bonn then reluctant to stop the deal and risk a dispute with Strauss? or dld Bonn send Strauss to arrange it?

Strauss is scheduled to visit the GDR on the way back from his scheduled visit to Poland. It now seems almost certain that he will meet the GDR leader, Erich Honecker, although the Bavarian chief still says he doesn't know anything about it.

It may be that after Strauss returned from Berlin, it will become clear what the GDR is to do in return for the loan.

This is the crux of Strauss' problem. So far he has evaded the question. But he can only retain credibility in 'Ostpolitik if he reveals reasons for what appears to be a change of principle. He has always said that nothing should be just given away to East Berlin.

He often accused the previous Social Democrat-Free Democrat government of not revealing all and using as an excuse the sensitive nature of the ODR.

Answers are all the more necessary now that another CSU MP. Eduard Lintner, hinted that East Berlin might get more loans.

In addition, It has not been explained why Bonn had to guarantee the loan if the GDR as Strauss says it did, actually put up collateral.

> Hans Jörg Sottorf (Handelsblatt, 13 July 1983)

if this deterrent falls to work, either by a 1979 dual-track decision. miscalculation or a technical mishap, By the terms of this decision Nato resolved to go ahead with missile moder-The superpowers have an enormous responsibility for the survival of mannisation and station new US missiles in Western Burope if disarmament talks kind, and so far they have not done it with the Soviet Union failed to achieve This is the intelle ectual and political background against which the peace The latest information about continumovement all over the world is gaining ed Soviet missile build-ups made nonsense of any accusations levelled at stature and support.

nisation, Herr Worner said. Yet he still hoped an interim result

 $(H(a))_{n \in \mathbb{N}} (H(a))_{n \in \mathbb{N}}$

Herr Worner felt it was now up to the set aside its insistence on the zero op-

Washington, he said, was definitely interested in reaching agreement in Ge-

He energetically refuted allegations

He was critical of SPD disarmament expert Egon Bahr, who before travelling

Karsten Volgt, leader of the SPD

Bavarian MP quits in anger at party's 'inconsistency'

This was as improper as Strauss' reaction. Handlos justifies his action by pointing to the fact that Strauss does what he wants without consulting his

He also points to the fact that at the height of the Bad Kreuth affair that shook both CDU and CSU Strauss had ong decided to give in while his team still had to praise the wisdom of break-ing away from the CDU.

And recently, when the loan to the GDR had long been agreed to, Strauss held forth to a gathering of CSU MPs at the Banz Monastery with his ideas on Africa without even mentioning the latest bit of Deutschlandpolitik.

The livelihood of Handles, who wants to keep his Bundestag seat, assured. He is the publisher of two magazines. Schöner Bayerischer Wald and a military affairs publication. He also owns a museum of farmhouses and the village inn that goes with them.

states had the letter answered by an like who used a surly tone. This was His letter of resignation closes with the somewhat ambiguous words: "I am sure that further political developments will bring my friends and me together again." a she a hearth and a north



Franz Handles , , , highly critical;

Franz Handlos says the sentence should be read more than once. General secretary Wiesheu did exactly that and read the possibility of a new party into Roswin Finkenzeller

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 11 July 1983)

Government reveals its plans for a new Riot Act

The Bonn cubinet has decided to tighten the laws on demonstrations. Under new proposals, which will now go to the com-mittee stage, people will be liable to be gaoled for a year if they take part in a lemonstration that the police declare is

The new Riot Act proposals, unanimously approved by the Bonn Cabinet, amount to a victory for the Interior Minister, Friedrich Zimmermann of the CSU.

Principal opponent was the Justice Minister, Hans Engelhard of the FDP. He managed to win only minor concessions in the framing of the law.

However, it appears that the FDP has blocked a provision which would have made it an offence for demonstrators to mask their faces.

Herr Zimmermann can now say that he has done what he thinks is necessary before expected violent protests take place in the autumn over deployment of

Now people who find themselves in a protest march that the police declare violent will have to disperse on police

Failure will mean prosecution. Journalists and medical helpers will be exempt. People who can show that they tried to stop the violence will also be exempt from prosecution.

The "Liberal" justice minister seems to feel that he can live with this constitutionally most questionable compro-

The National Federation of Judges, whose opinion the Kohi-Genscher government likes to use to back the need for a reform of Section 125 of the Criminal Code (disturbing the peace), now stiffly opposes the new bill.

Even before the dispute between Engelhard and Zimmermann was over, the Federation's judges and prosecutors warned against giving in to the Interior Minister's demand for a ban on concelment of the face to prevent identification and what the bill calls "carrying passive arms" (a flexible term that can include protective covering such as a crash heimet).

The Federation said that some serious thinking was necessary to determine whether Section 125 was in need of change at all.

Above all, the judges warned, we must beware of any departure from the legal principle that the onus of proof rests with the prosecution and not with

Under the new bill, demonstrators who fail to disperse when ordered to by the police would have to prove that they tried to stop the violence in order to avoid prosecution.

Zimmermann says that the accusation that he is violating the Constitution by reversing the onus of proof in favour of the prosecution is unfounded because anybody who three times ignores an order to disperse must expect to be treated by the police as a lawbreaker.

at work was brushed aside as "irratio-As simple as this might sound, it is nevertheless monstrous. Is it to be legal bute pamphlets demanding that imprinow for the state to treat all peaceful sonded members of the RAF terrorist participants in a demonstration who fail organisation whould be all put together to obey a dispersal order as criminals only so that the state should be able to in the same prison are making propaganda for a terrorist organisation. prosecute a few troublemakers? He argues that shifting these people

And how constitutional is it to order demonstration in which there are only a few rabble rousers?

What is the "state" if not we, the people, with our constitutionally guaranteed right of assembly and demonstru-

We cannot ignore the Federal Court President, Professor Gerd Pfeiffer, who says that the new compromise on the demonstration law does not pay sufficient attention to weighing the individual's basic rights and the state's right

Professor Pfeiffer was absolutely right in drawing attention to this - regardless of what one thinks about his having aired his views on the subject in the news magazine Der Spiegel while the talks between Zimmermann and Engelhard were still in progress.

Under our present law, anybody who joins a public assembly or fails to leave after being ordered by the police three times to do so is guilty of a misdemeanour. But what Zimmermann now wants to introduce (with the lamentable consent of the smaller coalition partner) would turn that person into a criminal.

Zimmermann must also tolerate being asked why he did not follow the

The Chief Federal Prosecutor, Kurt

Rebmann, welcomes the govern-

ment plans to tighten the demonstration

But he told a Press conference he

also wanted to see bans on demonstra-

tors concealing their faces and on carry-

ing "passive arms." He has been disap-

Rebmann also warned people think-

ing of planning disruptive action

against the likely deployment of miss-

said, somehow render someone liable

Even this sort of behaviour might, he

Prevention at all cost seems to be his

theme. It did not seem to occur to him

that this attitude could mean a reduc-

tion in civil liberties once taken for

Even the massive criticism by his col-

league, Federal Court President Gerd

Pfeiffer, of the envisaged reform of the

Act governing disturbance of the peace

seems to have left Rebmann unaffected.

ed in by Interior Minister Friedrich

Zimmermann whereby certain acts be-

Rebmann is convinced, for instance,

son demonstrators hide

fore an actual orime would be punish-

their faces is so they can commit vio-

lence under such a cloak - at least, this

The possibility that peaceful demon-

strators could want to hide their faces

He thinks that even those who distri-

for fear of state reprisals or difficulties

was his line of argument.

He approved of the new trend usher-

pointed on both counts.

for prosecution.

suggestion of the Berlin chief of police, the police to arrest whole sections of a who proposed that criminal charges should be levvelled against people who carry arms or other dangerous objects. In the event of violence, this should also apply to those who are "pussively armed" or masked and who ignore police orders to disperse.

But the present reversal of the onus of proof (which even has the blessing of FDP Chairman Hans-Dietrich Genscher) is a sad example of the "coulition's unity and ability to act," so often quoted by Genscher.

It seems that the Liberals in particular thought that they were champloning the views of the National Federation of

True, the Federation had suggested a tightening of the demonstration law in the autumn of 1981. But it withdrew the suggestion in late 1982, saying that there was no sound and feasible alternative to the existing law.

Zimmermann's inslexibility was also shown when he described the rejection of the bill by top police officers as "party political machinations."

Despite his membership in the SPD, the chairman of the Police Union, Schröder, is credible when he warns

Proposed law

not enough,

says prosecutor

to the same prison would improve the

efficiency of the RAF operating from

prison and that therefore anybody de-

manding this is aiding and abetting the

Once, Justice Minister Jürgen Schmu-

de and Interior Minister Gerhart Baum

had actually contemplated removing

the provisions on making propaganda

for a terrorist organisation from the Cri-

minal Code. At the time, they met with

the approval of top legal experts. Those

The review of superfluous criminal

laws that had hastily been introduced

been struck from the agenda altogether

- by both government politicians and

Today, they applaud when more laws

to protect the state are added to the al-

Naturally, this helps the work of law

enforcement agencies - especially the

Many a peaceful demonstrator who

must fear arrest if he finds himself in a

demonstration turned violent and un-

able to leave it in time could decide not

who in no way sympathises with the

RAF but, for whatever reason, demands

that the jailed terrorists' lot be eased

must beware of doing this publicly by

It would be naive to expect the Fode-

distributing pamphlets because this

could earn him a prison sentence.

And many a well-meaning citizen

the Federal Prosecutor's Office.

ready existing jungle of legislation.

Federal Prosecutor's Office.

to demonstrate at all.

days are gone.

that the new law could lead by POLITICS

Here, too, Zimmermam y

In any event, the tightenings monstration law is no way for

President Pfeiffer for "having la The Christian Democrats disapprovexercise restraint."

Pfeiffer the citizen has the fide could hardly sit still, criticise a law and we believe here's out of his mind," he said. "It fer the judge would have taking won't do." He went to the rostrum the same stand had there beard proclaimed, with the chamber in rent could for in House. rent coalition in Bonn.

very opposite.

This line of thought puts both AL group. Tension mounted and haderal Prosecutor and the Boss rad was apparent.

ment in a situation where the A Social Democratic councillor who lose sight of the right propertie Ebermann had insulted him shoutmeans and ends and was alrest the "You aren't worth spitting at!" and cised under the previous Social life high time you lot were given the coalition in connection with the both duction of computerised state Another SPD man was so incensed the fight against terrorism.

during the acute terrorist threat has

determined to ignore senior to experient. Tempers explode in council that the existing law is perfect. Tempers explode in council row with Hamburg Greens

to recapture lost votes in this The Green Alternative List has been Former North Rhine-Wesh represented in the Hamburg council terior Minister Burkhard Hinds a year. The anniversary was marked now a member of the Bundakes by a celebration but by a council tip affairs committee the bundakes by a celebration but by a council tip affairs committee the bundakes by a celebration but by a council tip affairs committee the bundakes by a celebration but by a council tip affairs committee the bundakes by a celebration but by a council tip affairs committee the bundakes by a celebration but by a council tip affairs committee the bundakes by a celebration but by a council tip affairs to the bundakes by a celebration but by a council tip affairs to the bundakes by a celebration but by a council tip affairs to the bundakes by a celebration but by a council tip affairs to the bundakes by a celebration but by a council tip affairs to the bundakes by a celebration but by a council tip affairs to the bundakes by a celebration but by a council tip affairs to the bundakes by a celebration but by a council tip affairs to the bundakes by a celebration but by a council tip affairs to the bundakes by a celebration but by a council tip affairs to the bundakes by a celebration but by a council tip affairs to the bundakes by a celebration but by a council tip affairs to the bundakes by a celebration but tic affuirs committee, three minus, lost tempers and a walk out.
on the lack, of consensus will was a day quite in keeping with the fed of the past 12 months.

He suid he was able to work there certainly has been trouble the Interior Ministry itself, but to Social and Christian Demos were joined in the council by the It is understandable that (1) there is a Bock, the Moorburg politicians now criticise Felinia, and Thomas Ebermann of the

bear ve bearinging for thems. n on the agenda was a Social Dematle motion to name a street or squathe city after Salvador Allende.

of the idea. Their speaker Gert Boy-But those conservative she said President Allende had paved that Pfeiffer resign and go less way in Chile for what came after it he does not like the government of dictatorship.

There were protests from the floor as far.

spoke. His views upset both SPD

in. prost, that:
Notbert 15 2"That's what the people look like

(Handshills in ho in a few weeks' time will be justifythe US invasion of Nicaragua. That's what the people look like who show understanding for the parliamen-

the Federal Prosecutor's Offsit Amid scenes of growing tumult the federal Prosecutor's Offsit Amid scenes of growing tumult the is to urge Bonn lawmaken to this in the capense of childrents. "You can stay out too!" Then The demand for a ban on the face, which is still contons while Thomas Ebermann, who was thin the coalition, fails in the called to order by the SPD Speaker, and the assurance that the conding entirely appropriately to the monstration law would not lead the face of the still not arrest is flimsy. The still not the capens of SPD councillors were very opposite.

the fight against terrorism.

The tightening of the dense of the same as what you accuse the law, the introduction of the base of scists of?

Cealment of the face and same of the two parties eventually voted in ures threaten to upset the proper that the Chilean President, but rifts in discussed among lawyers.

Interior Minister Zimmense of personal discrepanted and the council had been unmistakable.

repeatedly said that he would be suppressed for so long that the talk about the vaunted "chest school had been released in the form would practise it.

would practise it.

He has already dilivered of its the curtains were raised a little for mise in the field of legal affair thee," a left-wing Social Democrat feebly resisted by Justice Ministration commented.

Engelhard, who had promised a line.

The Chief Pederal Prosecutor is load been a nightmare scene in the conveiling to apply the Interior for unable, a situation in which we ter's ideas in day-to-day possible to maintain the style on work.

The "change" in legal policies to maintain the style on work.

The "change" in legal policies to maintain the style on work.

The "change" in legal policies to maintain the style on work.

The "change" in legal policies to maintain the style on work which we had agreed and which we delieve the style of the weekly had been a nightmare scene in the council had decided grant to work the "change" in legal policies with the weekly had been a nightmare scene in the council had decided grant to work the "change" in legal policies and which we had agreed and which we define the "change" in legal policies and which we define the "change" in legal policies and which we define the "change" in legal policies and which we define the "change" in legal policies and which we define the "change" in legal policies and which we define the "change" in legal policies and which we had agreed and which we define the "change" in legal policies and the "change" in the style on the "change" in the

seds Zeises like walk-outs or the like.

This time it had been different because the CDU had coldly and cynically implied that President Allende's policy had been bound to lead to President Pinochet's dictatorial regime.

This claim was one they had felt they must challenge openly.

From June till December last year the GAL group's support was indispensable for an SPD minority government. Then the Social Democrats regained an absolute majority.

Less has since been heard of the GAL group, although their electoral support seems to have levelled out at a steady eight per cent or so.

Life has certainly been less glamorous than it was last autumn when the SPD held lengthy talks with the GAL to see if they could agree on a modus vi-

The GAL views on issues ranging from nuclear power stations and port extension plans to youth unemployment were outlined in detail.

The Hamburg group made national headlines and were even given news coverage abroad. The CDU referred disparagingly to "Hamburg conditions," meaning an SPD minority relying on GAL support.

The Greens and Alternatives were all in favour of the idea. They wanted to join forces with left-wing Social Democrats and make Hamburg's SPD government too a line that was to their lik-

But SPD burgomaster Klaus von Dohnanyi is no greenhorn and he eventually outmanoeuvred the Greens. He called fresh elections in which

GAL support was reaffirmed but the re-



Thea Bock (left) and Thomas Ebermann of the Greens... Aliende the catalyst for the drama,

sult, an absolute majority for the SPD, ruled out any further possibility of making the Social Democrats pursue leftwing policies.

Life in Hamburg was back to normal. "There has been no change in the way we work," says Thea Bock. "We work just as hard as ever. But the message doesn't get across to the same extent, which is probably due in part to the

The GAL group is no longer in a position to force issues, not even a nuclear-free zone for which it could enlist left-wing SPD support.

If it came to a vote on this particular issue, right-wing Social Democrats would almost certainly join with the CDU in voting down the proposal.

That may well be what will happen this autumn. So far the GAL group has tabled 150-odd motions since the New Year, but only a handful have been ac-

The emphasis is on information. "I feel, without wanting to be unduly proud," Ebermann told the Hamburger

Rundschau, "that we are pretty good at unearthing facts. But we are often unable to make others appreciate the fact.

Local authorities are inundated with GAL parliamentary queries, and they are detailed questions on which the group has done its homework.

"In certain sectors," one SPD Senator admits, "the GAL has a grasp of the facts that the authorities have to gain after the event in order to be able to answer the questions."

No-one is likely to deny any longer that the GAL counciliors know what they are talking about. They have the back-up provided by ad hoc groups of experts and civil servants.

It is an open secret that many local government departments, especially the Environmental Protection Department. are gratified at times when the GAL table a question.

It could be a query that the Social Democrats would not have allowed to get that far.

Karsten Plog (Der Tagesaplegel, 6 July 1983)

XX Jolf-Dieter Hasenclever, leader of W the Greens in the Baden-Württemberg state assembly, is not to stand for re-election next year. His move is intended as a protest and

a demonstrative gesture against the attltude taken by powerful forces within the Green, or ecological movement. In a detailed personal statement he

stressed that despite the envious and mistrustful suspicions of Greens with strong views on grass-roots democracy he was not interested in jobs, power and

He was also opposed to the rotation principle by which Green MPs and assemblymen were expected to step down after two years in office and hand over to others for the second half of their parliamentary term.

A seat in parliament was only a temporary mandate, and it was given by voters rather than by the political party. Hasencleyer, 37, feels such attempts to get round the Representation of the People Act are distasteful.

Pressuring MPs to accept the principle of rotation was not only legal trickery; it was also an attempt to mislead the voters. He had no intention of doing what

had been suggested and standing for reelection in Tübingen, getting as many votes as possible from bourgeois voters and then handing over to another candidate in two years' time.

Hasenclever is strongly opposed to supporters of "fundamental opposition" and bureaucratically organised **Ecologist MP** hits out at his own party



Accuses the Greens of legal trickery... Wolf-Dieter Hasenclever. grass-roots democracy among the

Constant discussion about making office-holders answerable to the rank and file paralysed political activity on specific issues.

The emphasis was on structural issues, not on serious debates about eco-

logical matters. It was a mistake to believe that manifestoes were more important to the public than the individuals who breathed life into them by virtue of their qualifications, credibility and moral integrity.

Any such ideas ought to be consigned once and for all to the scrap-heap of antediluvian left-wing illusions. Yet there was a tendency not to judge assemblymen in terms of the quality of the work

Hasenclover has turned down an offer to stand "without strings" for the Lörrach constituency. He does not want to leave Tübingen, his home base.

After the summer recess he will hand over as spokesman for the Greens in the state assemble to Winfried Kretschmann, from Nürtingen. Kretschmann has been resolected wi-

thout strings by his constituency party out is only prepared to stand if the state executive committee, meeting in Sigmaringen, rejects the principle of rotation.

The Greens have been fairly auccessful in the Stuttgart state assembly, but their future looks in jeopardy now Wolf-Dieter Hasenclever has decided not to stand again and Winfried Kretschmann and Holger Helmann may prefer to stand down too.

Between them they held much of the credit for the Greens' success at the polis in Baden-Württemberg in 1980. which was the party's first in a large

> Friedrich Lösch (Mannheimer Morgen, 6 July 1983)

ifirmation of the stock market ru-

tumover of the stock are seen as a

Was ereignet sick in Deutschland? Wie sieht Deutschland die Welt?

Antworten auf diese Fregen gibt ihnen Die Wellt,
Daubehlands große, überregionele Teges und
Wartschaltszeitung.

Songamella ne li-t-osanq se svo

Vous trouverez les réponses à ces questions dans DIE WELT, le quotidien allemand indépendent, suprarégional et économique.

Como và a Alemanha o mundo?

Comment l'Alfemagne regarde-t-elle le mende?

O que é que steniete na

by them.

stockholders voting rights to between

five and ten per cent of the capital held

Has the "sellout of German Industry"

fa widespread catchphrase after the first

oil shock), which these measures were

intended to prevent, now come about

after all - not openly but clandestinely

and unnoticed by the public and the

Official records of foreign direct in-

Apart from its stake in Krupp-Stahl,

Iran has since 1978 also had a slightly

more than 25 per cent stake in the hold-

ing company Fried. Krupp GmbH.

Essen, In addition, Iran has a stake in

the mechanical engineering and boiler-

making firm Deutsche Babcock & Wil-

Saudi Arabia's Dallah Est concern

has an 18 per cent stake in the world's

third largest maker of construction ma-

chinery, IBH in Mainz. The equity was

The majority stake in another cons-

truction machinery firm, the Kaelble-

Gmeinder group, Backnang, has for the

Kaelble-Gmeinder, makers of special

purpose vehicles, locomotives and gear-

boxes, have a payroll of only 1,000 and

are thus the exception to the rule that

says that the Arabs are only interested

Kuwait, which concentrates on

sound, internationally known German

corporate giants, has been particularly

single-minded in its acquisitions. Its

egulties include, spart from Daimler

and Hoechet, the Frankfurt commodi-

iles concern Metaligeseilschaft AG.

Here, the government and its state-

owned oil company each hold ten per

cent of the DM240m corporate capital.

The shelkhdom also has a ten per

Kuwalt is unlikely to be pleased with

its 30 per cent equity in the DM70m ca-

pital of Korf Stahl AG, Baden-Baden.

Korf was drawn into the vortex of the

steel industry's troubles and filed for in-

Stock market insiders estimate total

Opec holdings in German companies at

Overall foreign industrial holdings in

Germany stood at DM74.7bn at the end

Three-quarters of this is held by US,

Swiss, Dutch and British Investors. The

Opec countries had a stake of only

pital, the developing countries account-

ed for DMI.Ibn and the East Bloc na-

Some DM4bn net a year was trans-

ferred to Germany in the last two years

for the establishment of new compa-

nies, equities and loans to domestic

According to Bundesbank statistics

for 1982, the Opec countries accounted

for only four per cent of this amount

There was not a single Middle Bast

country among the ten most heavy di-

rect investors in the Federal Republic of

Germany. The list was headed by the

(just under DM160m),

tions for just under DM500m.

solvency proceedings last spring.

about DM8bn.

companies.

cent stake in the VW subsidiary VW do

pust two years been held by an uniden-

vestments in German companies pre-

companies concerned?

cox AG in Oberhausen.

bought last year for DM90m.

tifled group of Arab Investors.

in mammoth corporations.

sent this picture:

Travels with Count Lambsdorff — diary of a globe-trotting minister

E conomic Affairs Minister Count Lambsdorff does not travel abroad with order book and pencil at the ready. But his trips nevertheless do help promote business.

The main purpose of his talks with members of foreign governments and industry is to enlarge the scope for economic relations and to pave the way for German industry.

But the bargaining and signing of contracts is, as in any free enterprise system, up to the companies concerned. Even large corporations like to see the minister concerned smoothing things out politically in the buyer country. But for small and medium sized companies such government promotion is indispensable, especially in remote märkets.

Count Lambsdorff has travelled abroad regularly in the past few years, primarily to countries that have taken their first steps towards industrialisation or to places whose potential as trading partners has not yet been fully realised by German business.

Lambsdorff has paid several visits to the ASEAN countries, Indonesia, Philippines, Malaysia, Thailand and Singa-

These countries have for years ranked among the economically most dynamic regions of the Western world.

Their geographical remoteness from Germany and to some extent the traditional fixation of German exporters on the EEC countries have made it easy for Japan to gain a foothold in the ASEAN markets.

In many instances, Count Lambsdorff's visits have made exporters aware of the potential of the region and German exports there have risen 100 per cent in the past four years.

Now, Lambsdorff is venturing even further affeld to open up markels for German industry.

After visiting Japan, he will visit Australia and New Zealand, countries whose economic ties with West Germany are still in their infancy but which hold great promise.

The Bonn Economic Affairs Ministry is convinced that there is plenty of scope for growth of both trade and in-

The Minister was told that his talks in both these countries will be difficult. True. There are virtually no bilateral issues between either of them and Ger-

But they know that Germany is an important member of the European Community, Australia and New Zealand blame the BEC for many of their current economic problems.

Count Lambad dorff is likely to hear complaints about the Community's agricultural policy particularly in New

Ever since Britain joined the EEC, New Zealand has been losing market shares in Europe, especially in the UK. Because of its climate, New Zealand became one of the most important food producers in the Commonwealth. Britain's decision to join the EEC caused structural economic changes in New Zealand and forced changes in its export markets.

About 70 per cent of New Zealand's

exports are still farm products, especially dairy products, mutton and wool.

It has found new markets in Asia and has been successful in developing its own industry. But its economic position has been tenuous for years.

There has been no growth since the mid-1970s, and inflation is about eight per cent and rising. The government has seen no alterna-

tive but to freeze wages and prices and curb imports - measures Count Lambsdorff considers totally ineffec-

He is likely to suggest that helping foreign investment would provide the impetus for growth.

The Federation of German Industry regards New Zealand as suitable for joint ventures because of its high educational standard and favourable energy

But it is remote. Another major obstacle is the smallness of its domestic market. The country is larger in area than the Federal Republic of Germany, but it has a population of slightly more than three million.

This would not matter if a proposed common market with Australia were set

With its large and valuable natural resources, Australia ranks several notches above New Zealand in foreign

But there, too, Count Lambsdorff is likely to find that the country considers its own problems more important than Germany's desire for an easing of investment restrictions for Gorman firms.

Australia's oconomy is shrinking. Unemployment has risen to more than ten per cent and inflation has reached 12 per cent.

German industry has the impression that there is considerable interest in foreign capital, technology and sophisticated know-how. This could apply to coal mining and coal processing, where German companies already have a

Even given goodwill on both sides, the geographical distance remains the main obstacle to the development of economic ties.

Distance gives Japan an advantage, It has used it so intensively in some instances that German companies have

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won footholds because Australia wants to prevent Japanese monopolies.

But Japan's successes in the region will not dominate Count Lambsdorff's talks in Tokyo.

The main topic will once more be Tokyo's practice of obstructing the necess of European exporters to Japanese

The EEC Commission has again

complained about Japan's de tics in removing trade obsissa 1USINESS

This time, however, En Japan are pulling in the same Stock market rumours of Middle East against the new US import Stock market rumours of Middle East for steel.

Another objective of County dorff's visit is to promote des Industrial Fair in Tokyoneng

After much initial heart major German companies have based rumour has it that Middle cided to venture into the light harket rumour has it that Middle

The main objectives are to a German companies. There has trate that German business in talk of German business being sold pay more attention to the lapar set official records of direct foreign ket and that German product and that German product are to give backing to the regood as the Japanese. good us the Japanese. Frank Edwell.

Bonn-Moscow economic ties the address was apparently give by the important for politics to spoil to lold shareholders that Kuwalt, to is a major Hoschat stockholder,

Evict Union and the Federal Republic of Germany are too important for either side to allow them to be affected by political or military issues.

This is why Chancellor Kohl dealt separately with economic and political issues during his visit to the Soviet Union this month.

German-Russian trade last year amounted to DM20.8bn, The Soviets had an advantage of DM2bn. Any breakdown in this profitable trade would deprive them of foreign ex-

Latest figures show a 38 per cent tise in German sales to the Soviet Union in the first four months of this year compared with the same period last year.

German sales rose to DM3.9bn while Russian sales fell 18 per cent because of lower prices and declining demand for natural gas, crude oil and petrochemi-

For some German companies, especially in capital goods and steel, plus a number of small and medium sized trading firms specialised in East. Bloc trade, trade with the Soviet Union has become vital.

But the Soviet Union accounts for only 2.6 per cent of Germany's total foreign trade, according to OECD statis-

These statistics also put into perspective Moscow's claim that trade with the East is important for the West's job

Overall OECD exports to the Soviet Bloc (73 per cent industrial goods and 27 per cent food) amounted to \$35bn in 1982 - about three per cent of total ex-

New Address

Subscription

ports and much less than expension on additional holdings in Opec countries (\$110bn) and in Euded was a share of just under 10 World (\$180bn). World (\$180bn).

World (\$180bn).

The OECD Secretarist estimates in the trade with the Soviet like the party has confirmed it:

OECD nations provides the typic is also said to have a holding 150 000 and 200 000 jobs in the temperature. The Hongkong and Even in the best years of the fidel Bank in Hongkong was for the mid-1970s) the jobs crast time thought to be involved in were no more than 350 000. The time thought to be involved in were no more than 350 000. The time thought to be involved in the notion jobless of the OECD nation to the time that the Hongkong bank lion jobless of the OECD nation to the Soviet Union to the Soviet Union

industrial products do not me the continuous rise of Commerzbank tern standards and can the since March and the relatively

The Saviet Union could per cope with a restriction of inpat the West, but it made it clearant ing Chancellor Kohl's visit den tually profitable trade with the still part and parcel of its policy Despite Soviet lender You !

pov's efforts to attenuitie them and make the Soviet Industry as cient through modernisation from the West remain essential the USSR has always had pet putting its remarkable research ses into practice.

Prime Minister Tikhonov po quality of German goods and is the after-sales service of Genes panies which carried out me provided spares for equipment ten or 15 years earlier.

German industry service terms greatly contributed towards it ? tion in the Soviet Union 2 should be ample sales opported

Germany between 1985 and 1991 Kohl and Tikhonov sgreed their talks that details should be out at the next meeting of the lost nomic Affairs Commission in in mid-November.

Count Lambsdorff has already ed to the possible areas this wall volve: food, machinery, moder of Soviet factories, transport, des and agriculture.

Diplomatic circles naturali, that trade most not be seen out But trade seems to be developed stabilising factor by necessissid

The fact that Tikhonov told Kol he was worried about the likeling another Soviet trade delicit many shows that the USSR delivant to curb but boost its tride in ing more raw materials. Peter Sch

(Der Togenpier ! 1)

clear indication of heavy selective buy-

buy-up refuted by official records

Among the other major German firms suspected of having fallen prey to Middle East buyers are Bayer, Dresdner Bank, Hoesch, Linde, Slemens, Thyssen, Degussa and Deutsche Bank.

The suspected buyer is Kuwait, which caused controversy as far back as 1974 with its DM1bn purchase from the Quandt family of a 14 per cent stake in Daimler-Benz AG.

The same year, Iran bought an equity in Krupp, which triggered a heated public discussion over an impending dependence of German industry on the Opeo countries.

This led to a number of defensive measures spearheaded by major German banks.

While Kuwait's stake in Dalmier-Benz was arranged by Dresdner Bank, Deutsche Bank reacted differently when Iran showed an interest in buying the Friedrich Flick AG's 29 per cent stake in Mercedes, Beating the Shah to it, Deutsche Bank bought the block of shares for DM2bn.

The shares were later sold to small German investors through a newly established Mercedes holding company.

Deutsche Bank also played a major role in prompting important German corporations, among them Bayer, Man-

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2 Qué sucede en Alemania? Cómo vo Alemania el mundo? Úsico encontrará la contestación a estas preguntas en DIE WELT, el diario alcreán independiente.

Azel Springer Verlag AG DIE WELT Postfach 30 58 30 D 2000 Hamburg 36 the sale of the second of the second of the letter in a second ANANGIGE TAGESZEITUNG EON DEUTAGH In Gent spielt Moskau auf Leitgewinn: USA entrauscht

counted for a combined 55 per cent. The capital flow in the opposite direction was considerably larger. It amounted to DM9.8bn, almost twice the amount of foreign investments in

USA and the EEC countries which ac-

So the figures don't support the theory that Middle East states are taking

Even if the latest equity rumours are true, and if the gaps in official statistics are closed, the ratio of foreign investments in Germany would change only marginally.

But economic data say little about the true influence certain stockholders have in a company or a branch of industry. The question is: Do Arab stockholders interfere in the management of German

If company spokesmen are to be believed, there has been little change even in those companies where major foreign stockholders are represented on the Bupervisory board (Krupp, Babcock, Metailgesellschaft and Hoechst).

But by the same token many ambitious export plans for the Middle East. prompted by the Arab involvement, have had to be shelved.

It is generally considered that Arab investors are primarily interested in a safe financial investment and secure returns. This is substantiated by the fact that most Open countries invest their money in fixed interest securities rather than stock and that even Iran and Kuwait acquired only minority equities.

"Although for from all corporate investments in Germany carn dividends for Kuwalt, that country in particular has so far fared well with its investment

As far buck as two years ago, returns on capital investments replaced Kuwait's oil export earnings as the major source of revenue.

According to official data, Kuwait's foreign investments stand at DM120bn.

In the USA glone, Kuwait holds equities in 480 of America's 500 largest corporations. Most of these equities are less than five per cent - the maximum investment that does not have to be made public.

More and more Germans now believe that Kuwait is also interested in entreproneurial benefits. Stock market insiders believe Kuwait's investment in Motallgesellschaft was made in the hope of obtaining the petrochemical know-how of that company's subsidiary, Lurgi-Ingenieurgesellschaften.

The idea, stock market pundits say, is to turn Hoschst AG - which now has an assured supply of petrochemical raw materials -- "into an international chemical giant under Middle Eastern steering" (Prankfurter Börsenbriefe, a stock market news sheet.)

The "Kuwait fever" on German stock markets is fucled by such speculation, leading to paradoxical oddities: If the ice of a stock suspected of being a Kuwait target remains stable or rises. pundits see this as a sure sign that an Arab buyer is in the offing.

But Frankfurter Tagesdienst, another stock market information sheet, told its readers that a stock's falling price points in the same direction: "The worse the business data of a corporation, the lower the price of its stock. And the cheaper the stock the more attractive it becomes to the Kuwaitis with their long-term investment strategy. What they are ultimately after is the know-how of these companies."

H. G. Stuwe 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1. (Die Weit, 11 July 1923)

PERSPECTIVE

ASEAN grows up out of the dominoes that would not fall down

Ten years ago the ASEAN countries Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia and the Philippines, were the dominoes the Pentagon thought would be the next to go if the Communists won in Indo-China.

Now the members of the Association of South-East Asian Nations are among the stabler countries politically and most promising countries economically in the Third World.

At the end of June Foreign Ministers from leading Western industrialised countries met their ASEAN counterparts in Bangkok.

The Western countries at this annual dialogue were the United States, Canada, Japan, Australia, New Zealand and the European Community.

The EEC was represented by Bonn Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher, its acting chairman.

ASEAN has emerged as a respected political force. Many economic pundits also forecast better growth prospects for the ASEAN countries in the years ahead than for any other part of the

Throughout the past decade of worldwide recession the ASEAN countries have maintained growth rates of which the industrialised could but

They also have extensive reserves of commodities such as rubber, tin, petroleum, palm oil and timber, all of which are urgently needed in the course of an international economic recovery.

Their exports of industrial goods are on the increase too. In trade with the European Community ASEAN maintains a healthy export surplus.

Progressive industrialisation and increasing consumption in an area with a population of over 260 million are making ASEAN a market with attractive future prospects.

Its importance as an alliance has nonetheless been so far political rather than economic. Politically the five ASEAN countries are more united today than ever.

They ascribe this to the Asian art of dialogue, a complicated and protracted art in Western eyes but one that eventually arrives at consensus and agree-

Yet it does not always do so. On specific issues of economic integration, which is an ASEAN objective, the group has made scant headway over the past 16 years, and Bangkok brought no further progress.

The conference was again overshadadowed by the event that has held the centre of the stage of political debate in South-East Asia for four years: the occupation of Cambodia by Vietnam.

Shock at the Vietnamese invasion was a major reason why the ASEAN countries came closer together. Their diplomacy has succeeded in ensuring that a substantial majority at the UN votes against recognising the pro-Hanoi regime in Phnom Penh.

ASEAN insists that it would be wrong to come to terms with a country invading its neighbour and establishing

a puppet regime. The ASEAN strategy is to isolate Vietnam, but political and economic pressure have so far failed to persuade Vietnam to withdraw from Cambodia

or to allow the Khmers freedom of choice on their future.

Peace bids have ground to a halt. During the Bangkok conference the Thai Foreign Minister abandoned as useless plans to hold talks in Hanoi.

Hanoi has made it clear that in practice it will not pull out of Cambodia until the world has come to accept the situation brought about by its invasion of the country.

There must first be international recognition of the pro-Vietnamese, pro-Soviet Heng Samrin regime.

Another condition is that China must stop backing the Khmer Rouge, who in military terms are the only opponents of the present Phnom Penh regime worthy

They remain a painful legacy of Western policy on Cambodia. The way they ran Cambodia after ousting Lon Nol in 1975 has discredited them for all time.

They introduced a Stone Age communism and killed at least one million of their fellow-countrymen. Yet they are the main partner in the anti-Vietnamese Khmer coalition, with Prince Sihanouk

The Inter-Parliamentary Union has

been going for 94 years. It once was

a distinguished organisation, but that

Delegates from the 98 member-coun-

tries will meet for the 70th session of

Their government tells them exactly

its conferences as a waste of money.

There is every good reason for taking

wry look at the people who take part

in such gatherings, which are usually

enjoyable meetings in far-off, interest-

The Union has lost much of its repu-

Yet in its lamentable metamorphosis

it has both lost and gained where its

practical political purpose is concerned.

It forces members who are either

completely in the dark about how re-

presentative, pluralistic democracy

works or strongly opposed to the idea

At IPU conferences codes of beha-

viour are observed, undesirable view-

points must be heard out and tolerated

and, above all, human rights must be

A bad impression is created whene-

Three years ago the powers that be in

the German Democratic Republic let

the side down when GDR newspapers

ver either the hosts or the participants

ing parts of the world.

to pay it at least lip service.

depart from this practice.

tation. It is easy to criticise it.

the Union in Seoul, Korea, in October.

mentarians.

being no more than an internationally acceptable figurehead.

ferred with ASEAN again practically gave the group a carte blanche on its Cambodia policy and an assurance of support for ASEAN initiatives.

nonetheless added that his country wanted nothing to do with the Khmer

That would enable the Kremlin to consolidate its position in Indo-China, he said. But Australia's intention of resuming development aid to Vietnam was strongly criticised by the ASEAN countries.

They said it was an illusion to believe that Western aid and appeasement might either separate Vietnam from the

to confirm that headway or to be made on Camboda b

scher, who was decorated in for his contribution love Yet the Western countries that coneven held,

US Secretary of State George Shultz

Australia's Labour Foreign Minister Bill Hayden was the odd man out. His government felt that the longer the Cambodia issue was stalemated and Vietnam remained isolated the more Hanoi would be driven into Moscow's

Soviet Union or weaken Hanoi's deter-

mination to rule over the ESEARCH but although he was she praise by the Vietnames h

was given were nothing an

All the Bangkok coafes

The process of dividing up the Antarctic

REC partnership, felt one on Bonn sweltered in heat-wave temtified that the Bangkok superatures of well over 30°C, diplolawyers and experts conferred in "What would have have in conditioned Science Centre how many journalists working a resources in the Antarctic. r-conditioned Science Centre on

ed up," he asked sceptic, "bresentatives of 14 countries met had invited Warsaw Pan heath for a second attempt to reach nisters to Range of the many unresolved That is unlikely to have them of prospecting for and mining ASEAN governments at all resources and protecting the unti-Communist and protecting the unti-columns and protecting the unti-columns.

outlook.
They are strongly chief dand, in June 1982 and January 1983 viet Union for lending policid to come up with the answers, and to Hanol's expansionist policidate of talks in Bonn were not the massive financial aid to sever the Gordian knot eivietnam to pursue the contract of the Vietnam to pursue these police

This point was plainly make sub-groups dld, however, get Deputy Foreign Minister Krisn to work. One is dealing with envi-he toured the ASEAN continuation issues, the other, consisting They took great exceptions definition of terminology to be with Hanoi and to his count that is basic research? At what point the anti-Vietnamese Khmaran must it be termed exploitation of

must it be termed exploitation of

(Der Tagesperd Geaningful work cannot begin until east the outlines of such concepts When the IPU confen is the more than such laborious defini-

It will certainly stand for maintain-

It is also a matter of the claims made by a number of states to slices of the Antartic land-mass.

Fourteen states took part in the Bonn bid to allocate the proceeds and forestall clashes, but other members of the international community would dearly like to break their stranglehold on cash and activity.

Do they stand any meaningful or realistic chance? Let us first backtrack in history, but only as far as 1958, which was International Geophysical Year.

It was a year in which scientists devoted much attention to the Antarctic. So did politicians, and a year later the Antarctic Treaty was signed by a dozen

They were Argentina, Australia, Belgium, Chile, France, Great Britain, Japan, New Zealand, Norway, South Africa, the Soviet Union and the United

They were a mixed bag, with diverging interests, and as the treaty was open to others who engaged in serious Antarctic research they were joined over the years by another 15 countries.

They, with even more widely divergent interests, were Brazil, Bulgaria, China, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, the two German states, Italy, the Netherlands, Papua New Guinea, Peru, Poland, Rumania, Spain and Uruguay.

The Pacific South Pole The Antarctic Zones claimed Important research centres Shelf Ice 1600 km

The aim of the treaty, which Bonn signed in 1979, is to maintain the integrity of territory south of the 60th paral-

It is to be used solely for peaceful purposes. Military activity of any kind, especially nuclear test or the dumping of radioactive waste, is prohibited.

An effective system of controls prevents breaches, including environmenal pollution of the Antarctic.

The 27 differ in status as well as in interests. Seven of them, Argentina, Australia, Chile, France, Great Britain, New Zealand and Norway, lay claim to sovereignty over slices of Antarctic ter-

Article 4 of the treaty freezes the previous, unclarified situation (unclarified because claims overlap), but the countries concerned still uphold their claims.

Bonn diplomats feel the deep-freeze arrangement has proved satisfactory. During the Falklands campaign Britain steered clear of the Antarctic mainland preferring not to "solve" an additional territorial problem by using force.

The difference in status among signatories is arguably of greater political signisicance. In addition to the original 12 countries Poland and the Federal Republic enjoy consultative status.

To gain this status a country has to engage in serious Anturctic research. Bonn mulntains a permanent Antarctic base camp named after a German scientific pioneer in the area, Georg von Neumayer.

Germany has also contributed to Antarctic research Alfred Wegener's continental drift theory according to which the Antarctic land-mass once formed part of Africa.

On the basis of this theory the landmass is felt to contain rich deposits of coal and iron ore, but no-one has yet proved they either exist in sufficient quantity or can be mined economically.

Over seven billion litres of petroleum are estimated to lie in wait, as are 115 billion cubic metres of natural gas and titanium, chromium, iron, copper, manganese, nickel, gold and uranium ore.

Given the uncertainties of status it is hardly surprising that treaty states have since 1959 mainly concentrated on Antarctic flora and fauna.

Initial agreements were reached in the 1960s, followed in 1980 by a treaty governing the protection of living maritime resources.

This treaty has been in force since April 1982 and, as Bonn is quick to point out, it has been signed by the European Community.

What's at stake

pepresentatives of 14 consultative states that are members of the Antarctic treaty have conferred in Bonn on mining natural resources from under the Antarctic ice-cap.

The land-mass, all south of the Antarctic circle, covers 21 million square kilometres, or 8.1 million square miles.

Antarctica in its entirety comprises about 53 million square kilometres, or 20.5m square miles, including:

 38.4m sq km (14.8m sq miles) of • 1.5m sq km (580,000 sq miles) of

shelf ice. • 700,000 sq km (270,000 sq miles) of islands

• and 12.4m sq km (4.8m sq miles) of continental land-mass. Politically, Antarctica excluding

sub-Antarctic islands is divided into sectors shared by Australia, New Zealand, Britain, France and Nor-

The 1959 Antarctic Treaty carefulavoids stipulating claims to sovereignty.

Antarctic natural resources include coal, copper, iron and manganeso ore. The climate is the harshest in the world, staying below zero centigrade throughout the year. The lowest temperature ever re-

corded, minus 88 centigrade, was taken in Antarctica. (Nordwest Zeitung, 13 July 1983)

Greenpeace, the militant ecological group, feel its provisions are indequate - or certainly would be if ground resources ever were exploited.

Antarctic conferences have yet to be confronted with the concept of its resources forming part of the common heritage of mankind, like those of the sea. Bonn diplomats recall that the Ma-

laysian government once broached the idea, but the present system is felt to have proved fine. Consultative status will continue to

be available to countries engaged in active research, which should soon mean India and Brazil as newcomers.

In other respects the modus vivendi is felt to have proved successful. The Antarctic is, after all, the world's only demilitarised and nuclear-free area.

· If the number of countries associated with it were to be extended to UN proportions the East-West conflict could easily come home to roost.

> Sten Martenson (Stollgarter Zeitung, 13 July 1983)

Tattered and torn, but IPU still has a function

Over three-quarters of the delegates will be no more than quasi-parliamentawere not allowed to mention what was rians, and arguably mere pseudo-purliadiscussed at the 67th IPU conference in East Berlin.

In their home countries MPs, repre-The subjects discussed and voted on sentatives and assemblymen are not included the Soviet invasion of Afghupart of a system of checks and balances; they are trusted aides of a more or less authoriturian, not to say totalitarian

Every member-country, especially when it hosts an IPU gathering, belies the gap betweeen normal parliamentary conditions and its own practices in what to do, and one of their jobs is to ways such as this.

create the impression abroad that de-All freedoms it guarantees or refuses mocratic, parliamentary standards are its citizens can in this way be measured. So the IPU promotse a process of edu-So in a way it is right to accuse the cation that is even more important Inter-Parliamentary Union of being a today than its founders could have imamisnomer and to regard the expense of gined in the 19th century.

Countries that have a lesson or two to learn are salutarily obliged to make at least a credible pretence of parliamentary style and good behaviour.

That alone is a useful effort to have to make. Efforts can be successful and even partial efforts count in the quest

The IPU has always been weak and is now distinctly shabby, but the effect of its activities can be to give a consideraliamentary legitimacy.

Authoritarian and totalitarian states badly need more legitimacy, and they usually set great store by a gain in pres-

That is why South Korea was so keen to host the IPU conference. Seoul wants to show its guests that complaints of breaches of human and civil rights in outh Korea are no longer justified.

For a while it has certainly sought to avoid giving cause for complaint. It has also given political forces that are not in power opportunities of a say in the running of the country that gradually seems to have points in common with the parliamentary system in the West.

Korean politicians who have not been ullowed to hold place may stand for valuable natural rewill be permitted to mix values to be mined from under the ice-

Dietrich Man

The parliamentary groups is sure to meet them - by pre with the Inter-Parliamentary That is not all the IPU at

ble; it also loosens up ber structures that have grownight: Precisely because so may purliamentarians who attend to " rences are really government states that would normally state berth of each other can can

cial contacts. This is a side-effect of grad tance for South Korea as as It ber and host country that maintains relations with only

In October representative tries that would otherwise of sporting contacts (if that) other will be holding politic

In this way change is east and it cannot be to the det peace in the world.

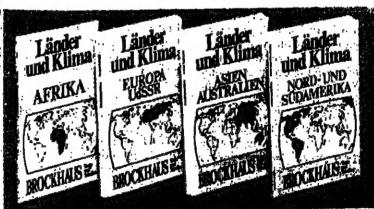
It all works and is release shown by the determined elfor taken by North Kores, with BP larly ossified totalitarian region. vent the 70the IPU conferent being held in South Korea.

Pyongyang's attempts well standable even though they be approved.

The IPU may basically of nothing, yet in the final analysis traordinarily effective on best code of behaviour and stands keeping with the principles of tic, parliamentary, represented mocratic government.

It also influence political po the sense of community and maybe it is still worth its salt and Ernst-Otto Mit

Meteorological stations all over the world



supplied the data arranged in sec-at-a-glance tables in these new reference works. They include details of air and water temperature, precipitation, humidity, sunshine, physical stress of climate, wind conditions and frequency of thunderstorms.

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TRANSPORT AND TECHNOLOGY

Disease threat scares shipyard workers into rejecting huge refit contract

German shipyard workers have blacked a massive ship refliting contract despite the shipbuilding slump and threats of more mass redundancies. Workers in Bremen are worried about

the risk of getting asbestosis if they go through with the project.

The ship involved is the former Atlantic Blue Riband holder, the United States which has been out of service for 14 years. The refit order, reputed to be worth DM250m, is said to be one of the tive measures into practice and to redumost lucrative in the history of shipp-

But the ship is full of asbestos, enough to make the risk a lethal one, says the works council at Bremen's Vulkan yard.

Shop stewards were adamant they would sooner sign on for unemployment benefit than work on board the US luxury liner.

The fitters started the action. But they were soon joined by other departments even though none of the 4,000 or so men know how long they will still be in

About 300 were laid off last autumn and the next wave of redundancies is expected soon. No matter how skilled they may be, shipbuilding workers in north Germany stand no chance of finding another job in the trade.

But asbestosis is incurable and in most cases death is painful.

Asbestosis is contracted by inhaling asbestos dust, and the United States, which was launched in America in 1952, is chock full of asbestos.

Hamburger Abendblatt called the liner an entire world of asbestos. The Abre (its Greek name means unquenchable) was sprayed on to pipes, intermediate walls and outer steel walls, just about everywhere:

"Only the Steinway grand piano, the butcher's block and the chaplain's crucifix are still made of honest-to-goodness wood on board."

Even if most of the asbestos-clad fittings were to be removed by a US firm, as has been suggested, there would still be enough asbestos left in the ship's walls and ceilings to make working on board a lethal risk, the yard's works council says.

US multi-millionaire Richard H. Hadley, a man who made his money building hotels, plans to invest roughly \$100m, or DM250m, in a refit.

The United States, he says, is going to be what she used to be: the most luxurious liner there is, all 302 metres (990ft)

The liner that once held the Blue Riband for the fastest North Atlantic crossing has been in mothbells for 14 years off Norfolk, Virginia.

So \$100m may be a conservative estimate of the cost of ref playground for the rich.

The order is certainly one none of the five hard-pressed major West German shipyards could afford to ignore; it would come just in the nick of time for them all. ...

Early in May the Bremen yard's directors announced, much to the surprise of many, that they were definitely out of the runnings. 📜

Mr Hadley had felt so uneasy at the criticism voiced by the men that he had

Howaldtswerke-Deutsche Werft (HDW) in Hamburg was an alternative. The HDW works council, unlike its opposite number in Bremen, did not rule out the idea entirely.

HDW are threatened not only with mass layoffs. The Hamburg yard may have to close down entirely.

Its works council said it would have to rule against the relit if the management failed to put all possible protecce the health hazard to a minimum.

Burgomaster Klaus von Dohnanyi of Hamburg voiced great interest in landing the United States refit for the city.

The asbestos dispute is nothing new but but the Bremen workers' refusal to work on board what they dubbed the death ship has added a new dimension to the debate.

Workers face the unsatisfactory alternative of risking either unemployment or a lethal health hazard.

Demands for a ban on asbestos are fine as long as it is only a matter of asbestos sheeting that is sawn into shape by do-it-yourselfers or sold ready-made as window boxes.

Consumers have been able to ward off a number of risks by boycotting products. In 1981 the asbestos industry complained of its worst sales setback since the war.

People were just not buying the stuff, spokesmen for the industry lamented, Shipbuilding workers don't have such

an easy choice. They must either work with materials that contain asbestos or risk being accused of jeopardising their

Yet the Bremen workers are in no doubt. "You can't just die u little of as- : bestos," says works council chairman Fritz Bettelhäuser, who is one of many Bremen shipyard workers who may have aspestosis.

"In case of doubt all you can do is decide in favour of life and health," he feels, and most of his workmates agree that any other decision would be suicidal madness.

But it took them 10 years to come

workmates who contracted asbestosis and died in misery.

Victims owned up to their illness and discussed their problems in public. But the Bremen yard is still an exception in this context.

Many other works councils try to ignore the problem. It is usually asking too much of them to deal with the issue, while even the trade unions are slow to wake up to the need for strategies to ensure a general ban on the use of asbes-

Ignorance is no excuse. It certainly doesn't stop the consequences. US cancer and health research authorities estimate there will be about 2.15 million cancer deaths due to asbestos between now and the end of the century. A spokesman for the German Envi-

ronmental Protection Office in West Berlin has put the number of asbestosis deaths in the Federal Republic at 4,000

Reinhold Konstanty, of the DOB, Germany's Düsseldorf-based trades union confederation, estimates the true figure to be at least 10,000 a year. In the final analysis it's all specula-

tion. Asbestosis as a cause of death can only be clearly identified by a post-mor-"Even if every conceivable precaution were taken (and it isn't)," the Bre-

men shipyard workers say, "the risk of workers who handle asbestos dying us a result cannot be ruled out." So the choice ought not to be one between risking death or one's job but of using substitutes for asbestos that al-

ready exist "even if they are expensi-Yet as long as this view does not prevail among the general public, and especially among the workers affected, the Bremen men realise they are going to be out there fighting on their own.

As for their Hamburg workmates' hopes of clinching the order and holding on to their jobs, they could be deshed for extraneous reasons.

Cash is the trouble. The king-sized



been worried they might strike and de-cided to look around for another yard.

The under-water testing plant near Hamburg. The DM40m installation pan simulate a wide variety of under-water conditions to help research.

(Photo: dps)

DM80m of the cost, a land the ARTS of April after talks in New York

He proposed to let the the rety for the remainder, but not interested, so Mr Haday to raise German Federal son Josef Albers comes back to Bottrop to stay Land (state) guarantees, Shipyard managen sound thusiastic and more sceptis



carefully to see whether the partial artists and show and aduseums that are devoted to indi-A final decision is now as country. In Parls and in the French until after the summer teers.

e Cote d'Azur, for instance, has sums devoted to almost all major as of this century. Paris is preparing Lest champe of the city's most beautiful palaces ouse Picasso's legacy.

for researchment tends to pay more attention than to the viarts. Even so, the German-speaking under water the Europe already have mu-

feyman to mastercraftsman, he thered all changes of style at the

aus, eventually becoming the head

famous Preliminary Course.

Operational trials have been GUSI under water des Geesthacht, near Hambur, DM40m, took four years to be one of the most advanced to one of the most advanced its kind in the world.

men it was rumoured the

order could well turn out by

ter for any yard that tookita

yard was not unduly sony

Humburg officials are no

Volker He

That was probably why is

Once trials are over in Non-periments are to be devised cooperation with Industry and ty research departments.

They will test technical sold new technologies for use under

The simulator consists of the bers and a comprehensive system of gas and water sais gus unalysis and purification cutions and computerised and Two more chambers on k should the need arise.

The largest chamber is 19 (11ft 6in) in diameter and Ils of Albers' self portrait, 1917/18

(1111 6in) in diameter and list Albers' self portrait, 1917/18
(37ft 9in) long. It can be filled in part with water or gas cospecting and memorials devoted to such Other pressure chambers at so the visual arts as Lenbach, Ilnked via a control panel the ct. Slevogt, Kirchner, Nolde, Kieg, a chamber for use as living que imbruck, Barlach, Kolbe and a rescue chamber that can be self; splus such important groups as separated from the rest is as a fix, Blauer Relter and Bauhaus, cy. So all divers can be safety and for the past couple of weeks we ed.

The simulator is said to come and beautiful memorial. tists to reproduce in the man citrop, a colouriess mining communitary conditions at sea and see in North Rhine-Westphalia, has systematic research and denies ad upon the bit of good fortune. Submarine work and prosessed to it by history, turning it into be tested at variable pressure in the interest of more than local ining temperatures, currents, at all the contract of the contr

and water impurities.

Work such as welding breits in 1888 when Josef Albers, one of maintaining pipelines and stell fentury's most outstanding artists, res in the off-shore sector cask reticions and art teachers, was born

Divers can be put through its bers' career as an artist began ra-in conditions occurring at don't state in life but was inexorable once

unmanned devices can be test after teaching elementary school in mulated depths of 2,200 fastive town for some years, Albers (7,218ft).

Safety concepts were difficult 19/20). From there, he went to the vise because there are neither than an analysis of coloured glass, typographish as fely norms governing and furniture. Rising from ulators. ulators.

Government experts, indes cialists and insurance company up special guidelines the manif ay set standards of their own.

They could well be adopted by immediately after Hitler came to leeb-sea diving systems and standards, went to America and say set standards of their own.

deep-sea diving systems and welcomed with open arms. pressure chambers. (Normberger Nachrichtet.

art teachers in modern America especially in the field of design.

Loyal to and curious about the new Germany, he repeatedly visited the country after the war. On several occasions, he taught at the Ulm Design Academy on which many post-war hopes were pinned in the 1950s.

Rumour has it that Albers made several unsuccessful bids after the war to donate his works to various German

His actual breakthrough came in the 1960s when he was heaped with honours and titles and his works were exhibited world-wide.

On becoming an honorary citizen of his native Bottrop he presented the city with a small selection of his works. His intention was to create centres

devoted to his art in the two focal points of his life: New Haven's Yale University and Bottrop.

The idea was welcomed by Bottrop; and in 1976, the year Albers died, the city erected a new structure in its beautiful park. The structure was called Das Quadrat (the square) which in name and shape pays tribute to a leitmotif of Albers' art: the colour square.

It consists of three square pavilions linked with each other through a stairlike connection. The pavilions are intended to house a folk museum with geological finds and animal skeletons, a hall for public events and another for art exhibitions.

The architect, Bernhard Küppers, was clearly inspired by Mies van der Rohe's halls and pavilions, especially Berlin's National Gallery. The museum is primarily devoted to

the presentation and promotion of constructive art. Albers lived long enough to advise

the architect and approve the plans, His wife Anni, also a Bauhaus artist. made a generous donation after his deuth. Together with the American Albers Foundation, she presented the city of Bottrop with about 90 paintings and almost all of Albers' graphic works

(about 250 pieces). The city then added a "Main and Mother" Square to the three pavilions, inking it with the centre pavilion through a glass corridor.

The structure deserves praise for its ingenuity of design. The two-storey concrete building has a floor area of 1,350 square metres with 200 metres of

walls on which to hang pictures. The basement house the cafetoria and offices. Upstairs there is a square exhibition hall with movable partitions to

permit subdivision into sections.

Another remarkable aspect is the price: only DM4.3m. The opening ceremony was spectacular. It was attended by many of Albers' American students, German artists and the Circle of Friends of Constructive Art.

US Vice-President George Bush and Chancellor Helmut Kohl were flown in for half an hour. It was a perfect opportunity to pay tribute to German-American traditions in the form of a 20th century phenomenon: an emigrant who came home to stay in the form of his

The occasion was marred by the stiff security measures to prevent demonstrators from disrupting the festivities.

The establishment of this art memorial set in an almost Japanese park was no easy but a successfully accomplished task. The squares are ever present ; in the proportions of the structure, in the main hall and in the endless rows of

Ulrich Schumacher, the museum director, decided to show the work in part chronologically and in part antithetically. The upper skylight hall is devoted only to Albers' main cycle "Homage to the Square." The colour constellations unfold in a circle, going from yellow, orange and brown via grey all the way to the many shades of green.

Josef Albers' Im Wasser, 1931 The almost majestic sequences and harmony bear witness to the terse rich-

ness of the artist's works. Each picture is separate, though com-

ing alive through a variation on the same theme, The side rooms show roads and alter-

natives leading to the solemn pictorial structure of the colour square. There is the clef cycle, the facade pic-

tures to which motion is imparted by distortions of proportions, the kinetic structures, pictures with irritating, many-faceted. linear space constella-Expressionist portraits and land-

early Bottrop era. Even here, the viewer is impressed by the cool discipline. Albers used his many-faceted picto-

scapes take the viewer to the artist's

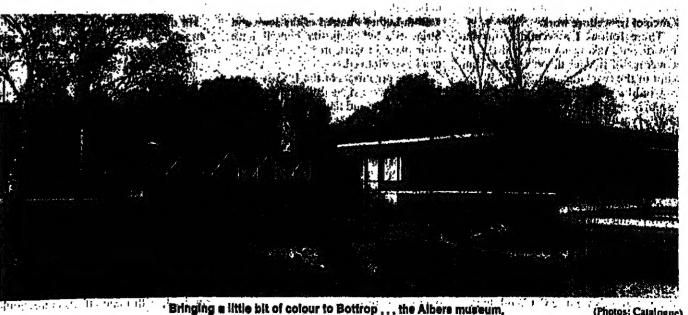
rial language to overcome expressionism and bring it under control. In his 1917/18 self-portrait, he disci-

plines Kokoschka with the help of Another section is devoted to the

Bauhaus era which was marked by many discussions with Paul Klee.
Albers is said to have developed the proportions of his nesting squares toge-

on a pedestal, so to speak, to gain depth and architectural weight, henceforth to be varied only by colour constellations.

Eduard Beaucamp (Frankfuster Allgemeine Zejtung für Deutschland, 28 June 1983)





This year's Nuremberg Talks left a wide range of questions unanswered. Doubts were raised, but a note of hope was also sounded.

One of the doubts was whether there was any point in holding a Luther Year and whether it was possible to strike up a living, fruitful relationship with the father of the Reformation over the cen-

Hopes were of progress in ecumenical discussions between the Churches, They were fuelled by the convincingly expressed readiness of leading Roman Catholic participants to deal with Luther's criticism of Catholic dogma,

The third and largest platform debate was the final discussion, held in the Lorenzkirche, which on 24 June hosted the ceremony to mark the opening of the Luther exhibition in the Germanisches

The 1! debaters and the chairman, Claus-Jürgen Roepke, sat at tables arranged in a semicircle in front of the

The audience, sitting in the chancel and the nave, could not see them too well because of the three Bayerischer Rundfunk outside broadcast camera crews covering the debate.

Viewers watching the programme on TV may well have found it easier to follow the proceedings.

The first speaker were politicians: Soclal Democrat Johannes Rau, Prime Minister of North Rhine-Westphalia, and Bonn Housing Minister Oscar Schneider, a Nuremberg man and member of the Bavarian Christian Social

Herr Rau outlined Luther's motives in the simplest of terms. "The world," he said, "is in a bad way and oughtn't to stay that way."

If the Gospel was unimportant in this world and irrelevant for political activities, what good was it? If the Sermon on the Mount did not apply to the town hall, where did it apply?

This world has to do with God, he said, and God has to do with the world we live in.

Dr Schneider took a more complicatcd view. He praised Luther first and foremost as a pious Christian, referring to the law of God and the law of nature.

Luther, he said, had wanted neither the rule of the Church over the state nor the rule of the state over the Church.

The Church, he felt, ought mainly to concern itself with pastoral duties, although he readily admitted the importance of its welfare work.

to be in the dock. There followed a seemingly inevitable dispute taking up over half the TV coverage of the debate on Luther's concan be overlooked. cept of the two kingdoms.

Could a politician who claimed to be a Christian lead a Christian life by Luber Talks were right to incl ther's yardsticks, by combining good works and the Ten Commandments? ness to German anti-Semitism. Since

The conclusion reached was, inevitably, that he could not.

The theologists clashed over whether Luther referred to two kingdoms or to two regimens and whether he wanted to absolve the temporal world of responsibility to God.

Heiko Oberman, the Tübingen Church historian, said he had definitely intended nothing of the kind.

tomary cliches, of anti-Semitism that It was a great pity more was not said about Luther's treatise On Worldly Au- over the centuries.

LUTHER ANNIVERSARY

Ecumenical hopes at the **Nuremberg Talks**

thority, which marked the beginning of his two kingdoms theory.

A frequent drawback of such debates is that audiences are assumed to know more than they do about the background material.

"We must divide the children of Adam, or all mankind," Luther wrote in his 1523 treatise, "into two parts: those who belong to the kingdom of God and those who belong to the kingdom of

"Those who belong to the kingdom of God are they who truly believe in Christ. Those who are not Christians belong to the kingdom of the world, or

"Few are true believers and fewer still behave in a Christian manner. That is why God has created for these non-Christians alongside Christianity and the kingdom of God another regimen that is subject to the sword."

If these and similar statements are any guide there is little point in trying to apply Luther's yardsticks of government and politics to the present day.

But are there not more direct approaches to Luther? Can "the rubble of centuries" be cleared away where he is concerned, Joachim Rogge wondered.

Herr Rogge, who is a Protestant Church official in the GDR, sounded a note of doubt.

Others' views varied. Hilldegard Hamm-Brücher, the leading Free Democrat, felt the simple things, such as Luther's catechism and his songs, ought to

Dr Oberman referred to Luther as an individual caught between diabolical temptations and enjoyment of life.

Dr Pesch, the Roman Catholic theologian, said he had had "key experiences" in reading Luther's writings.

hree years before he died, in 1543,

Luther wrote a hate-filled pamphlet

He said their homes and synagogues

ought to be put to the flame. Their wri-

lings should be destroyed. They them-

selves should be deprived of human

They should be stripped of their economic base, sentenced to forced labour

Four hundred years later, in 1946, the

and finally thrown out of the country.

Nazi leader Julius Streicher told the

Nuremberg tribunal Luther too ought

Until 1945 Luther was cited as a wit-

the war every attempt has been made to

avoid linking his name with the perse-

Luther certainly didn't invent anti-

Semitism. He was not a racist in his dis-

like of the Jews either, That was a spe-

cles which first came to light in the 19th

But he was not impervious to the cus-

He was all for expelling them.

nar on Luther and the Jews.

cution of the Jows.

entitled On the Jews and Their Lies.

Klaus Hemmerle, the bishop of Auchen, said the Luther debate had grown "new and significant" as far as he was

But the encounter with Luther had also had painful consequences. He was unable to set aside Luther's far-reaching opposition to fundamental Catholic viewpoints.

The ecumenical debate faced a testing period. Yet the words of a Roman atholic bishop gave rise to hopes that the Papal Church might answer Luther's criticism of its dogma,

In this respect the two Churches might be felt to have similar intentions, but hopes of Luther proving a link between the two German states can be dismissed after the Nuremberg debate.

A group headed by Heinz Zuhrnt sought in vain to find points held in common, differences and contradictions in the view of Luther held in the two German states.

His anniversary is being celebrated as major event in both, which might arguably trigger a feeling of having something in common.

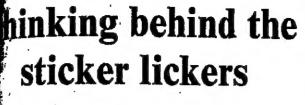
But the quest made no headway because there is no official view of Luther in the Federal Republic of Germany: neither one held by the government or by more than an individual theologian or ecclesiastical historian.

East Germany initially rejected Luther but since 1980 has increasingly laid claim to him as part of its history.

"Luther's progressive heritage," one of the GDR's 15 theses announced on the eve of Luther Year reads, "Is well maintained as part of the socialist German national culture."

But the GDR's official claim to Luther is not undisputed. Max Steinmetz, the Leipzig historian, felt it was fine.

BEHAVIOUR



ederal Road Research Estabhment in Cologne has made the iontific survey of car stickers and hey affect other motorists and

Martin Luther ... as painted to main finding is that stickers on entroversial topics such as "mind shild" or "prevent cruelty to an-Rolf Schneider, the East Be lin are viewed kindly by most moto-

Too much attention was parties can even have a positive effect ther's theology, Schneider with way motorists behave in traffic. expense of part of "the last was betide the motorist whose man Marxism."

ker are in any way didactic! German
Thomas Muntzer, properties do not take kindly to schooloutstanding German program terly admonitions.
Reformation period in Markey do people plaster their cars with

ken in the first place? The main rea-

was being neglected.

Interest in history was onto the Cologne survey showed time people were growing fired of again, was the desire to express a cal topics. "I view the came before to express a cal topics. "I view the came before to which the GDR to Luther which of being their own sandwich nothing whatever to us."

Professor Steinmetz sill be attention to the need for greater care search on Müntzer was sill be attention to hazards in traffic. The cologne survey showed time professor steinmetz sill stention to hazards in traffic. The cologne survey showed time of the need to express a search on Müntzer was sill be attention to hazards in traffic. The need to draw the cologne survey showed time of the latest to be need for greater care attention to hazards in traffic. The main real search of the latest to the need to express a call to be need to draw the attention to hazards in traffic. The main real search of the latest to the need to draw the

some doubts, a little hoperati nunger motorists are particularly The most open questioned in a on these colourful decorations.

Tole Luther has to play the less than three years and drive used

history and whether his president levance extends further thank Counger women drivers seem to be sailcker fans too. sury celebrations and an imp

Wery other car on the road in Ger-(Nursberger Nachrichus,F has at least one sticker, but the who go in for large numbers of be no basis for reconcillated are definitely in the minority.

ained of being sick with loneli-

gures compiled from similar servi-The later Luther particular sverage is 16 per cent. Frau Schiffer the late 19th and early 20th of the colleagues have long realised He was dubbed the German in Bonn the problem lies in the cor-In other centres show that the natio-

Anti-Semitic, nationalist and the head offices of political dies, organisations and companies: of hatred, complacency and are that staff hardly know each other nia. We know what became of more."

It is a sad fact that anti-Scale cononymity is fostered by an organi-and including Streicher called streicher called streicher called streichen and has systematically era-of their distantaful ideas.

Wo-thirds of the lonely callers are an secretaries. "Secretaries." Prau Her says, "used to be attached to a offile superior officer, handling teleons calls and collecting or redirect-

They knew all sorts of people, whereincretaries in today's soulless typing sools just type. They don't even type

more than seven, while owners of larger cars, sports cars and convertibles as a rule prefer to do without them altogether. The topics dealt with generally have nothing to do with driving. Only one sticker in four has any connection with traffic. The experts feel this may be to the detriment of road safety. About one motorist in four who does not go in for stlckers himself is an-

Less than one per

cent of cars have

noyed by stickers proclaiming views he does not share.

Nearly one in 10 is so annoyed that he tends to be less courteous than usual to the drivers of these other cars.

Particular attention was paid to the effect of 'Beginner' driving stickers. Field trials in urban Cologne indicate that beginners who own up to their inexperience are no more likely to encounter greater consideration than those who don't.

The opposite is more likely to happen. Motorists feel beginners are a potential risk and tend to overtake them more often, to prevent them from changing lanes and not to let them cut in front of their own cars as often as they otherwise might.

This discourtesy is seldom intentional. One motorist in five may suspect that drivers who claim to be beginners are trying to pull the wool over other motorists' eyes, but 82 per cent of motorists polled said they themselves went out of their way to be helpful to begin-

One reason for the discrepancy between alleged helpfulness and actual ruthlessness could be widespread ignorance and uncertainty about the signs and symbols used.

There are so many different sizes and hapes that motorists may well be con-

One motorist in 10 had no idea what the letter L might mean.

Nearly one in three felt that the word Antanger (Beginner) was not always printed clearly enough. Road safety experts conclude that stickers must definitely be more clearly comprehensible and easier to read.

Many motorists admitted they often drove closer up to the car in front than they ought so as to be able to read what it said on its sticker.

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 30 June 1983)

Hamburg University psychologists have taken a closer look at married and unmarried couples. Christian Taddei and Johannes Röhl interviewed 135 unmarried and 178 married couples.

Hang on, what's this?

Wrong! Not a picture of solar collec-

tors for a Bayarian housing estate. Nor

a collection of boy acouts tents, The

boomerang-shaped objects are hang

gliders, Pilota from 29 countries were

this month in Tegelberg, Bavaria for the

world championships, (Photo: Dieter Vogt)

The not wholly

popular

holy matrimony

Wedlock used to be the only way to the key of the door (a door of

one's own, at least). Now many couples

Living in sin, as it used to be called,

does not make them black sheep by

today's moral standards. But many cri-

tics take a sceptical view of the idea.

prefer not to run the risk.

Arguably the most important finding was that the unmarrieds by no means feel they are just experimenting; they take their partnership seriously.

They claim to have to devote more care and attention to their companion when not bound by the ties of holy wedlock (or the registry office).

But the life-span of such llaisons is not spectacular. On average the relationship lasts a mero five years.

Married couples argue that it is wrong not to wed if you are serious an average life-span of 12 years, which may or may not prove the point.

The figure is only an average. A marrlage may broak down after a year, or it may last for 20 or 40 years.

Where children are concerned, however, the conventional viewpoint is still widespread. Bight out of 10 unmarried couples say they would get married as soon as a child was on the way,

Only 20 per cent feel matrimony is not essential even in the event of parent-

The two groups differ significantly in their views on sex with other partners. Continued on page 14

Uncomfortable question of anti-Semitism

Ernst Ludwig Ehrlich, European head of B'nai B'rith, the Jewish organisation, dealt in a historical review with the ways in which envy, ill-will, anxiety and Church triumphalism in Western Christendom combined to work against

Both Luther's hatred of the Jews and Streicher's bid to justify himself have He described the persecution of the their place in German history. Neither Jews during the Crusades as the "uprising of a purportedly Christian mob So the organisers of the 1983 Nuremagainst the helpicas."

Yet Luther cannot be absol with reference to his environment, Tübingen theologist Helko Oberman was strongly against apologetically referring to him as a child of his era.

It was also wrong to emphasise Luther as a young man, when he seemed to be well-disposed toward the Jews, and play down the older Luther who clearly hated them,

Dr Oberman was particularly opposed to the "twin coalition" theological viswpoint according to which God first allied himself with the Jaws; then, in the New Testament, with the Christians. As long as this theological viewpoint

survived, with toxic effect, there would

had no visions of physical and It took the 20th century to this Holocaust.

tual recognition.

books about him.

great many unresolved issue

Cranach in 1529.

was being neglected.

disagreed.

Pinchas I apide, a Jewish of concilness is more widespread in the New Testament, was a Bonn than in any other German level-headed in the way he spirally Hildegard Schiffer. being God's advocate, or in the heads a team of 80 who man the the counsel for Luther.

He chose not to go in for the stylen with levels a record 13,000 condemnation and showed go pathy with letter's capitar with plained of being sick with loneling

pathy with Luther's earlier mi he was both unable and unvit cuso Luther's 1543 treatise.

hero in whose name the Grant for of power.
the Jews, could be seen as the Loneliness seems to haunt the civil

of their distanteful idens.

But for the sake of historical cy one proviso must, Laples Luther wanted to strip the A ligious, legal and material right

She's the loneliest girl in the whole of Germany

from shorthand notes they have taken themselves in dictation.

"It is all done by cassette, and the voice on the cassette is often that of someone they have never met. They might just as well be living in isolation behind bars."

It's not just from nine till five. The lifeline's rush hour starts at five when people go home from work. "We have 42,000 single-person households in Bonn," she says. "Two-

thirds are women." At home they can feel eyen lonelier than at work. The lifeline staff are told to take loneliness seriously. Lonely people tend to cut themselves off from others even

more until they are eventually unable to make contact with others any longer. Alcohol is then often the only way out, while an alarmingly large number of callers contemplate suicide.

The lifeline service runs round the clock, Having someone to talk to is usually much more important than having pills to take.

Bonn has grown increasingly difficult of late for women who live on their own. "We are told more and more often that single women are no longer invited out," Frau Schiffer says.

Many callers complain that they cannot discuss the problem with workmates for fear of being dismissed as mentally Men can feel lonely too, of course. In

cently transferred to the city. "They used to be important local government officers and are unable to come to terms with being a small cog in a big machine in Bonn. They often feel

Couples can be lonely too. Ministers' wives whose husbands gallivant all over the world often lament that they couldn't feel loneller if they were wid-

The Bonn lifeline service now runs individual and group therapy talks to help people to cope with life on their

(Saarbrücker Zeitung, 1 July 1983)



Doctors cause a row with criticism of how drugs are marketed

The way drugs for medical use are marketed in Germany comes in for practice." severe criticism in a new publication. Among the criticisms:

 Sieeping pills and tranquillisers are prescribed too often

• Labelling often does not make it clear exactly what the drug should be

• It is often not clear what the drug should do, thus making it impossible to work out if the aim of treatment has been achieved

 Possibilities of addiction are not made clear enough.

The volume is published by the Bremen Institute for Preventive and Social Medicine headed by Professor Eberhard Greiser.

A first volume of what has become known as the Greiser List dealt with heart drugs. This second one deals with psychopharmarca which include sleeping pills and tranquillisers plus drugs used to treat severe psychiatric disorders. Both volumes have caused out-

BPI, the national federation of the drugs industry, rejects the new publication. It says it puts forward "personal

Holy matrimony

Continued from page 13

The unmarried couples are the more tolerant of the two.

"Unmarried" women, oddly enough, often feel extremely self-assured and independent, whereas "married" men frequently feel unsure of themselves without their better halves.

Married couples tend to spend more of their spare time together. Unmarrieds keep up a wider range of friendships and acquaintanceships and by no means only go out together.

The Hamburg survey concludes that unmarried couples seem to aim at a imore open relationship of which dispensing with marriage lines is only a

Ruth Hanser (Bremer Nachrichten, 16 June 1983)

Dear of people and fear of the dark;

ties: these are among the most common

behavioural problems that go with psy-

chosomatic sijments, even in small chil-

i Nailbiting, running away from home,

havioural problems, rarely occur alone.

problems through neurotic behaviour,

These are among the findings of

ng-term study on psychosomatic di-

sorders in children. The study was part-

ly financed by the Bonn Health Minis-

try and carried out by several universi-

psychosomatic disorders are usually

less well equipped to deal with them

than with purely neurotic symptoms.

Moreover, parents fail to see that flight

and speech and learning difficul-

The Bremen doctors tested the drugs on the illnesses they are marketed to treat using established scientific meth-

In the first volume it was alleged that many heart drugs were ineffective. The latest volume says sleeping pills and tranquillisers are used too often and when they are not necessary.

It was often unclear which diagnoses call for the prescription of which drug. This was partly due to lack of research.

But not only. Often there were shortcoming in directions for use. Descriptions were inexact because they were written for the layman rather than the

Sometimes directions were so broad that the aim of the therapy was not described. This made it impossible to work out if treatment objectives had

In other cases, manufacturers tended to prescribe tranquillisers for a wide range of conditions where other forms of treatment, such as a talk with a doctor or psychoanalysis, would have been

Another major problem was undesirable side effects. Many drugs could lead to addiction. When they were discontinued, the withdrawal effects produced the very symptoms the drugs were supposed to combat, so the patient was put back on the drug.

Less addictive drugs were frequently less effective or had other undesirable

The authors of the Greiser List stress that the German pharmaceutical industry is lax in drawing attention to the possibility of addiction, unlike manufacturers in other countries.

One American drug marketed in Germany even for infants carried a warning in America that it had not been tested with six-month-olds and could therefore not be safely used for that age

The US version of the drug also carried a warning against using it in early

pregnancy because studies gave rise to the suspicion that it could lead to the baby's deformation.

The German manufacturer said there was no indication that the drug could lead to malformed bables. Bromides are classified in the Greiser

List as obsolete and no longer to be used due to the danger of poisoning. Barbiturates fall in the same category because of their severe side-effects and

the possibility of addiction. The list totally rejects compounds with more than one active agent because it is impossible to prove the effectiveness of individual components in drugs containing several active agents. The authors stress that this assessment is in keeping with international stan-

On the other hand, the list take a positive attitude towards the drugs developed for the treatment of severe psychiatric disorders.

It says they are as a major breakthrough by of the pharmaceutleal industry and can help alleviate even the worst of psychiatric disorders.

The national federation of the drugs industry (BPI) harshly rejects the Greiser list, describing it as "personal views without significance for medical practi-

A BPI statement goes on to say that Bonn Labour Minister Norbert Blum wanted the list to carry a preface saying that it expressed the private views of Professor Greiser and his team.

The fact is that the list (financed by the Bonn Labour Ministry) contains a note stating that "the tests and conclusions are those of the Institute."

The Pharmaceuticals Commission of the German Medical Association has been quoted by the BPI as saying that the study is not practice-oriented.

An inquiry at the Commission showed that this referred to the structuring of the list rather than its contents.

The authors have also been accused of having based their findings too few

But the authors say that whenever

Psychosomatic illnesses and children

stealing and withdrawal, like other beinto sickness is the consequence of a Before actually falling ill, a child frepsychological disorder. quently draws attention to its unsolved

The list of risk factors starts with the beginning of pregnancy, its course and subsequent birth. It includes an early separation of mother and child, illnesses of the child or other family members and severe atmospheric disturbances in the family due to problems between the parents along with the fact that the mother works, broken homes and changes in the environment.

Professor Willi H. I. Butollo: "So far, we know very little about the social, fa-"The problem lies in the difficulty of mily and other psychological conditions that lead to psychomatic disorders." tackling a wide variety of 'risk bundles' with the necessary attention to each risk factor," says Professor Butollo in a re-As a result, he says, counsellors on port to the Research Service of Munich

The study covered 40 children between six and 16 with a psychosomatic

The diagnoses went into the origins of the disorders which included asthma, obesity, head- and stomach aches and eczema. On average, the illness lasted for five years.

Almost all children with asthma or eczema showed early indications that there was something wrong at preschool age. The disease proper revealed itself at the latest, at school age.

Talks with parents showed that single mothers whose children frequently fall ill are more readily prepared to seek expert help than married women who look after their children at

Professor Butolio: "Only the sum total of therapy factors leads to suc-

They include a sound personal contact with the patient, stimulating creati-vity and discussion and, naturally, the psychotherapist's instinct along with the knowledge that every psychosomatic patient is different,

more than the same down (Saarbrücker Zeitung, 7 July 1983) standard literature falled adequate information they burs meting out prison sentences the manufacturers for releast bunish not only criminals but also The authors are bland ext-of-kin.

given a negative assessment because effectiveness they do through a severe crisis when her suggesting that they were but and went to prison for theft.

In fact, however, this is seen that they were but and went to prison for theft.

In fact, however, this is seen the new list against the collar worker, suddenly found because it puts more emplaint relying on social security paypossibility of helping a nature.

possibility of helping a pair to nistering a drug that is not to have the had managed comfortably could also has no harmful side-finger be met. The mountain of debt (Uremer Nachida welled by legal costs.

woman withdrew from friends Early war requaintances and increasingly redetector is isolated from the rest of the case is among those quoted by

Children

The patient has to more ke

After this, the patient suys

thout moving while the visit

Movement reduces the presse

much shorter time.

company,

The device, which costs Did

marketed by a Cologne phine

scourge "varicose veins" the

examination of 4,000 child

young people aged between 102

Varicose Versiogist Paul Fülbier, an assistant at device developed at Asia in the field of prisoner's assistance versity which gives eath appearal University.

of varicose veins can make it is co-author of the study "On the diagnosis in about a minute, item of the Next-of-Kin of Priso
It is expected to be particle — Analysis and Assistance Planful for treating present the commissioned by the Bonn Minute.

ful for treating pregnant to commissioned by the Bonn Mifor Youth, Family Affairs and

Some 12 million West Gm th.

fer from varicose veins or hers to fact that the lot of relatives of seases of the veins. Some knows has received virtually no attrom them every year.

Until now, the only way deals with the criminal ing the multimetioning of this crime and lately also with the that prevent blood from metals. It does not deal with the next-

that prevent blood from north.

The device is so accumbs a sters and social workers looking convinced even the Amazz the needs of prisoners and, occanignate, Nasa. The next had ally, their families, only 30 of North space shuttle Challenger is the Westphalia's 164 prisons offer will have one on board.

It will be used to measant the non-governmental welfare agenure in the astronauts' vein the stand of the give the released confirmant of they weighed tons.

It will be used to measant the non-governmental welfare agenure in the astronauts' vein the stand of the study though the procedure kind that the next-of-kin of prisoners

Though the procedure his in that the next-of-kin of prisoners new device itself is technic considerable psychological and so-sophisticated.

A little attachment weighig they can find themselves in a moral grammes and registering as the like one woman who considers thous of the skin is altable tentence meted out to her husband patient's call. Three semicone titally justified but nevertheless decides emit infrared light white titally justified but nevertheless decides emit infrared light white titally justified but nevertheless decides emit infrared light white titally justified but nevertheless decides continuously turning her back on

times within a 15-second proof sugh she was enraged with her ing a rhythm provided by a new and for having put his family in position, she was still attached to

of the skin surface which our the prisoner and his family rarely get pressure in the legs rises and portunity to talk it out thoroughly. trule, a prisoner may receive visi-lenly once a month and then only phour. The device records the chapt blood supply during the price.

ring the visit they face each other embarrassment and make small the skin vessels emply bear The prison official sitting at the blood flows into the lower tient

The innocents who are punished by the courts

adjoining table can hear every word and watches every moment.

Only few couples are capable of or willing to express themselves by letter. cause they fear what experts call the Moreover, the customary censorship is inhibiting. The result of this limited communication is that couples become estranged.

The women on the outside become more independent and learn to fend for themselves while the men inside become increasingly dependent, like children. Most of them are aware of this development and bear it with jealous resentment. They see their traditional male role in jeopardy. To make matters worse, the men frequently get out of touch with reality.

Many prisoners rediscover their love for their wives - at least for the duration of their imprisonment - even if they have frequently loathed and abused them for years.

They write impassioned love letters while at the same time fearing that their wives have become unfaithful. There is a constant nagging mistrust.

There are also problems when a prisoner goes home on parole. Many women consider themselves overburdered and not taken seriously enough when that happens.

Since the man does not understand his wife's everyday problems, he is convinced that he is the only one who has He tries to tell her what to do and or-

ders the children around to show that he is still the boss although he realises that life at home goes on without him. Tenderness soon becomes a forgotten

art in prison where only those are seen as men who can credibly boast of all sorts of adventures. During parole these men feel as misunderstood as their wives. There are

frequent fights which dampen the joy in anticipating the next parole. But it would be wrong if this led to the conclusion that the usual 21-day parole periods are superfluous for both

prisoners and their next-of skin. The experts demanded more parole. shorter prison terms, more seminars with prisoners, their wives and children or more comprehensive help for the

next-of-kin in their hometowns. If prisoners could see their wives more frequently, there would be fewer relapses later, social workers sav.

Practitioners know that many women get divorced shortly before their imprisoned husbands are to be released bereality shock. When this happens, it is almost certain that the ex-prisoner will soon run afoul of the law again.

It is a known fact that there is a high. divorce rate even during custody pending trial, but there are no exact figures

Children also suffer when the father goes to prison. The mother frequently tells them that the father has been sent to do a job abroad - if for no other reason because she does not want the children to spread the true story in the

But word gets around anyway. Often, the children are brutally told the truth by neighbours or classmates and then feel deceived by the mother.

One prisoner's 10-year-old son became aggressive, defending the family honour with his fists. His teachers described him as rebellious and recalcitrant. The youth authority suggested that he be put in a home and his mother

The two daughters, aged 6 and 7, refused to go out of the house and started bed-wetting. Both symptoms, aggression and regression, are common in such cases.

Two examples show possible approaches to family social work.

The first one is the counselling service of the Workers Social Welfare Agency in Dulsburg which (like some other institutions in Gelsenkirchen, Düsseldorf and Hagen) is supported by the North Rhine-Westphalian Justice Mi-

The 18-month courses are only available to married people and their children. After two preparatory meetings the prisoners and their families meet for a one-week seminar over Easter.

The seminar starts with a stocktaking by discussing problems that had often existed before the man went to prison: heavy drinking, unemployment, carelessness with money and generally poor family relations.

Some couples say that never before have they talked so much with each

For women, this provides an oppor-

tunity to openly air their doubts in their husbands' promises ("I'll do everything differently when I get out").

But frequently the women have to be told that their attitude has indirectly contributed to the crime.

Disappointments, expectations and wishes are put into words and new ways of coping with problems are practised: don't shout when there are problems and don't start flailing around

Another thing the participants in the seminar learn is to tell the spouse what they like about him or her.

Everybody at the seminar must find his own answer to the most important question: "What am I still prepared to invest in this relationship?"

At the end of the seminar the participants are assigned such clear tasks as to make sure that the letters they write express their true feelings and depict true events - despite the censorship.

After a six-week break, this is followed by a three-day meeting. Then, in August there is yet another one-day meeting plus one weekend each during the autumn and in December.

These long-term seminars can lead to more honesty in the family, and this provides the basis for a clear decision on whether to separate after the prisoner is released or to make a new start

The second model is provided by a Darmstadt team that has been assisting prisoners for the past four-and-a-half years by helping "where the women work and the children go to school," as social worker Helmut Onner describes

The Darmstadt group works in conjunction with kindergarten, churches, women's groups and Pro Familia.

The Münster meeting called on the state to become the advocate of the next-of kin of prisoners who are penalised along with the criminal. After all. the participants in Münster argued, by punishing the family along with the criminal the state interferes with the very family life that is protected by the

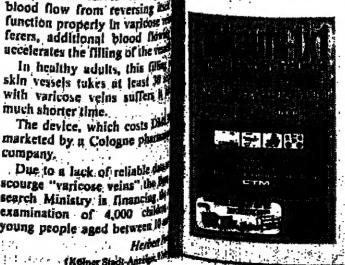
The experts in Münster further argued that family social work was good but contemplating alternatives to imprison-

Oriner: "Why can fathers not remain with their children, keep their jobs and pay a hefty fine in instalments?

Siegfried Knop of the Workshop for Assistance to Prisoners comments: "Welre too quick to put people in pri-Ulrike Walden

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 9 July 1983)

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